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THE NATION

DECEMBER 18, 1967 *35 cents*

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LETTERS

the power of facts

New York City

DEAR SIRS: Among other things, Oliver Lee's article, "The Myth of Chinese Aggression" [*The Nation*, Nov. 6] reveals the internal, civil character of the original Korean conflict and underscores the possibility that Syngman Rhee's regime, with the connivance of Dulles, initiated the war by a provocative attack on the North. It may be useful to add that a study sponsored by the U.S. Air Force and the RAND Corporation (*China Crosses the Yalu*, by Allen S. Whiting) demonstrates that virtually all the evidence, including the contemporaneous demobilization of the Chinese army and the confusion of the Chinese press after the story broke, shows that the Chinese did not anticipate the war. The strategically defensive and conservative nature of their involvement is luminously clear.

What is also becoming clear, thanks in part to such articles as Walter LaFeber's "America's Long Dream in Asia" [*The Nation*, Nov. 6] is the long-term, unlimited expansionism of the United States. . . . The best short exposition of the economic origins of "our" foreign policy is Harry Magdoff's *Monthly Review* pamphlet, "Economic Aspects of U.S. Imperialism." The renewal of interest in imperialism, and the economic aspects thereof, among serious American students is a tribute to the power of facts to prevail against fashion, even well-subsidized fashion. . . .

Lynda N. Shaffer
East Asian Institute, Columbia University

soldier's view

Miami, Fla.

DEAR SIRS: Vice President Humphrey has said that the critics of the war in Vietnam are pessimists. I agree. Anyone who isn't pessimistic has got to be insane.

For us to win this war upon the Vietnamese people would be a tragedy, and to lose it would be unfortunate. The only way one could possibly be optimistic about it would be to expect that we will abandon our efforts there and withdraw. I can see nothing to indicate such a change in policy.

Reynolds Moody, Lt. Col. USMC (Ret.)

Morton the switch

Santa Barbara, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: Your enchantment with Sen. Thruston Morton is curious indeed ["Morton The Realist," Oct. 16].

"Morton is respected by politicians of both parties for expertise and integrity." . . . Obviously you share this estimate. Yet you admit that Morton is concerned that Johnson may switch too and snatch the election victory from the jaws of defeat. Vietnam? Peace? Morality? Humanity? To win the election is the name of the game. . . .

Your homage to "a limited but effective logic in the two-party system and political realism" is unworthy of *The Nation* and distressing to this reader.

Theodore Schoenman

generous readers

Roxbury, Mass.

DEAR SIRS: Thank you very much for publishing our appeal to aid the starving Negroes in Mississippi [letter, Nov. 13]. Contributions from your readers have added considerably to our fund, and will enable us to provide food stamps for needy Negro families in Mississippi.

On behalf of these families and Boston CORE, I extend my thanks to *The Nation* and its readers.

John Young, Chairman, Boston CORE

EDITORIALS

Many Thanks, General

Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, becoming uneasy about resistance to the draft on college campuses, went to the White House and obtained consent for the drafting of a letter to Selective Service boards around the country advising the swift induction of student protesters who interfere with the operation of the Selective Service machinery by sitting-in at draft boards or induction centers, or by willfully getting in the way of Army recruiters. Although the letter did not mention students, it was clearly directed at them, since there is at present no other more or less homogeneous body of activist protesters. There was only one reference to demonstrations; clearly, Hershey did not wish to outlaw anti-war demonstrations as such—or did not have the temerity to try it.

The dimensions of the anti-Hershey reaction are impressive. The American Civil Liberties Union challenged him with three actions at law. Both Students for a Democratic Society and the National Student Association brought suit. Student newspapers were in full cry; professors wired individual protests. Recruiting facilities were denied at Columbia University, and at Stanford Pres. Wallace Sterling announced that "so long as the Hershey directive remains in effect" recruiting would be banned on that campus. The normally moderate president of Yale, Kingman Brewster, Jr., who had rebuked the university chaplain for his activities against the draft, termed Hershey's position an "absolutely outrageous usurpation of power." The academic dander was up.

Among politicians, reaction was equally forcible, with only an occasional voice, like that of the national commander of the American Legion, raised in Hershey's defense. Senator Javits denounced the move as "absolutely wrong." Rep. John Moss, one of the few Congressmen who work insistently for freedom of information in the government, demanded Hershey's resignation. In a shrewd move calculated to bring maximum embarrassment on the Administration, Sen. Philip Hart, a Democrat, called for "prompt" opinion from the Attorney General as to the legality of the Hershey proposal.

In view of the lawsuits directed against Hershey, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas' comment at Colgate University was perhaps ill advised, but it left no doubt as to where the Justice stood. He was quoted as saying that Hershey was "a law unto himself" and one who "responds only to his own conversation."

Hershey's proposal would have drawn protests under any circumstances, but the heat of the reaction can be accounted for, in part, by a widespread uneasiness about interference with civil liberties arising from the most frustrating war ever undertaken by the United States. There is a feeling, also, that anything an official in Hershey's position says in condemnation of draft protesters is bound to have a multiplier effect on local draft boards. Many are itching to crack down on demonstrators, legal or illegal. To the same effect, there has been considerable harassment of students by the FBI. *El Gaucho*, the student newspaper of the University of

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California at Santa Barbara, reported in its November 20 issue that at least eight local students, six of them from UCSB, had been questioned by FBI agents concerning their non-possession of draft cards. The story mentioned scattered reports of arrests in other parts of the country.

The most significant part of the furor, however, and the one in which General Hershey has undercut his own organization, is the damage done to the basic concept of conscription. It has few remaining friends except in the veterans' organizations. Businessmen are handicapped when they wish to hire draft vulnerable applicants. The applicants are at even greater disadvantage. College and university administrators are annoyed. Middle-class families, including those who support the war in Vietnam, dislike having their own sons drafted.

GOP politicians sense a popular issue. A group of Republican Congressmen has written a book on *How To End the Draft* that makes excellent sense. Future wars are likely to be of the guerrilla type, which can be fought more effectively by professional soldiers, or so the argument runs. As for a nuclear exchange, soldiers will have little to do except die with the civilians.

A striking harbinger of the demise of the draft, probably at the hands of the Congress to be elected next November, is Nixon's endorsement of the concept of a volunteer professional army. In his usual slippery way, he would postpone any change until after the Vietnamese War, but when Nixon prepares to abandon a ship it must truly be sinking.

'What's Your Plan?'

The Johnson Administration has played a dishonest but effective game with those of its Vietnam critics whom it has deigned to notice. When asked what it purposes to do about ending the war, it retreats into the never-never world of its eagerness to negotiate, or implies that contacts with North Vietnam and even the National Liberation Front are being sought, or shuts off inquiry with the assertion that "it would be inadvisable to say more at this time." Or it asks, with wide-eyed innocence: "What would you *have* us do? What is *your* plan?" This smug riposte comes from an Administration that has a thousand cable and radio circuits at its finger tips, that has countless representatives abroad, that is saturated with information—and secure in the means of withholding it. But, as with all games, there is a counter-strategy.

Sen. Eugene McCarthy has come up with one rebuttal —he wants the Johnson Administration to reveal *its* plan, if it has one. In fact the Johnson cabal does have a plan—only it is not for ending the war but for continuing it. Dean Acheson, a top Johnson adviser, made this perfectly clear in a TV discussion with some college students on December 3: "When the Communists feel that this effort [in Vietnam] has not succeeded, they will stop the effort. But if they get to talking with us, then we get on this eternal flypaper, in which half the United States will be negotiating for them."

There are other reasons why the United States is not likely to go to that negotiating table which it pictures as its goal. Dean Rusk is a persuasive advocate—if one

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knows little of the actualities—for the publicized American position. He has learned by rote certain phrases which have the ring of authenticity but are completely lacking in substance. He would collapse if, by some miscarriage, he actually found himself at the bargaining table. There he would have to *think*, and thinking is what he has not done for years.

But if the Johnson Administration has no plan for peace, such plans do exist. One has been written for *Le Monde* (and reprinted by *Atlas)* by Philippe Devillers, an old Indo-China hand. He points out that the National Liberation Front program published during the September elections opens the way to peace—if peace is wanted. Reunification, the program states, is to be carried out "gradually by peaceful means, by negotiations between the two zones." It promises to respect private property, along with private initiative and political, economic and religious freedom.

The problem is not to create a Socialist state in the South but to assure independence, reconstruction and prosperity. It proposes to form "a democratic government of national union bringing together . . . all the forces that have contributed to national liberation." (There, of course, is the rub. This provision would bar the quislings and rogues who constitute the government of South Vietnam that is supported by the United States.) Devillers says that this Front program "offers the greatest opportunity for an honorable peace since the beginning of American intervention."

Another peace plan is that of Paul Martin, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, which has been endorsed by Sevellon Brown, editor-publisher of the *Providence Journal* and by a group of Brown University professors. Martin proposes a number of steps, the first being some degree of physical disengagement, as for instance by re-establishing the demilitarized zone. Then military activity on both sides would be "frozen" at its present level—a more difficult determination, it would seem, than the third step, which involves cessation of all military activity, in accordance with the cease-fire provisions of the Geneva settlement, repatriation of prisoners, withdrawal of outside forces, etc.

There are other plans—Galbraith's and Gavin's, for instance. The point is not that any of the plans is without weaknesses. If a plan did approach perfection, it would still not work without the will on both sides to seek peace. All the evidence tends to the conclusion that peace is not the objective of the Johnson Administration, except under conditions that would be totally unacceptable to both the NLF and Hanoi. The primary need, then, is for the U.S. peace forces to spike these pretensions, and to force open discussion of the plans that do exist.

Attention!

CAMPUS AND STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

Copies of this special issue can be obtained at the following bulk-order rates: 100 copies, $25; 200 copies, $40; 500 copies, $75—plus shipping charges. Checks or money orders must accompany orders; shipping charges will be billed separately.

Write or wire: Paul Russell, *The Nation,* 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Inconvenient Truth

Under date of December 3, the Associated Press reports from Bangkok that the Thai Government is aggrieved at "certain sections" of the American press, *The Washington Post,* the Washington *Star, The New York Times* and *The Nation* in particular. These publications have written what the Thai Government alleges to be "malicious and scandalous" articles, thereby dragging poor little Thailand into "the dirt of American politics." Newspapers and magazines are not the only targets of Thai officialdom; the foreign minister, Thanat Khoman, frequently lashes out at "misguided" American liberals and opponents of the Johnson Administration's policy in Southeast Asia, his special target being Senator Fulbright.

The uneasiness of the Thai military dictatorship—which is what it is, with a civilian and monarchic façade—is likely to get worse. The interest of the American press arises not from the beauty of Thai temples or Thai women but from the massive American military presence in the country. When the reporters look into that, they necessarily inquire also into the whys and wherefores of Thai politics.

Neither *The Nation* nor any of the other publications the Thai Government resents is anti-Thai. What possible ground could there be for such an attitude? *The Nation* in particular is concerned that the Thai oligarchy, without the knowledge of the Thai people, is selling their birthright to the American Government as at present constituted. In effect, as Robert Buckhout pointed out in the October 2 issue of *The Nation,* Thailand has become an unsinkable aircraft carrier, accounting for some 80 per cent of the missions flown by USAF bombers against targets in North Vietnam and Laos, and for B-52 missions to South Vietnam. More than $1 billion has been spent on the Sattahip-Utapao B-52 complex alone. The country is saturated with American military advisers, ex-FBI men, CIA personnel, Green Berets, U.S. Information Service propagandists and other auxiliaries of the 40,000-man U.S. troop force. All these operators trumpet the virtues of the Thai Government which let them in and which, if it ever decides to get rid of them, will find that this sort of occupation moves on a one-way street.

The excuse for much of this activity is the guerrilla movement in the seven northeast Thai provinces, which have been under martial law for several years. As could have been predicted, the American occupation has exacerbated and spread this uprising, which heretofore was feeble enough. The Thai Government has just imposed martial law on five southern and central provinces, including one close to Bangkok.

So the Thais are uncomfortable, and with good reason. Traditionally they have preserved their independence by avoiding foreign entanglements. Now their government has tied them to the American war juggernaut, which is hated by the intelligent and informed minority in the United States. Unless the Johnson Administration can be unseated and replaced by one committed to a more

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benign foreign policy, Thai involvement will worsen. In the *Los Angeles Times* (the Thai bureaucrats should add the *Times* to the list of U.S. publications they regard as hostile), Jack Foisie points out that there are "substantial" indications that at least the Sattahip-Utapao complex will remain in American hands indefinitely, probably under some SEATO cover arrangement. Mr. Foisie, an occasional *Nation* contributor, is neither pro- nor anti-Thai; he is just a good reporter. If the Thai Government were less greedy for U.S. largess in the present, and had an acute sense of what the future holds, it would be grateful to the American publications that send reporters of Foisie's type to Thailand, or that print stories like the one Robert Buckhout contributed to *The Nation.*

December 2, 1967

A day of famous deaths, an anniversary, and a beginning. A cold day, windy, full of high autumnal colors. In New York, the Church's most bellicose priest died, and, hours later, the last trip of what was America's most prompt and luxurious traveler, the Twentieth Century Limited, left Grand Central. In Chicago, Sen. Eugene McCarthy gave his first campaign speech, a sporadically eloquent, oddly fatigued invocation of noble losers, Stevenson, Hannibal and Captain Dreyfus. Several hours earlier, 6 miles south of the Loop, on the site of the Squash Rackets Room under what had been the west stands of Stagg Field, the president of the University of Chicago, the widow of Enrico Fermi and the sculptor Henry Moore yanked at the tarpaulin draping the massive coppery bronze which was unveiled to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of Fermi's baptismal announcement of the atomic age: "The reaction is self-sustaining. The curve is exponential."

The commemorative scene might have been staged by Fellini. The guests sat under a peppermint awning, the wind threatened the ropes and flags, the Farragut High School Band squirted out Sousa marches. A little way off, cranes and earth movers stopped trenching the old football field for the piers of the new university library. SDS picketers festooned the ugly rectangles of the Fermi Institute and the crenellated concrete of the Quadrangles with injunctions to Get Out of IDA (the Institute of Defense Analysis). They'd been cheated of their proper target: LBJ, with the necessitous wisdom which keeps most heads of state off their own streets, had delivered his commemorative remarks by closed-circuit television. His huge face, oddly chiseled by the ferocious strains of baffled purpose, seemed an excessively newsy interruption of what was a day for memory, for humorous self-gratulation and a certain historic awe.

The survivors of the nuclear navigator's band were

(Continued on page 660)

THE WAR ON CAMPUS

Untangling the Alliances

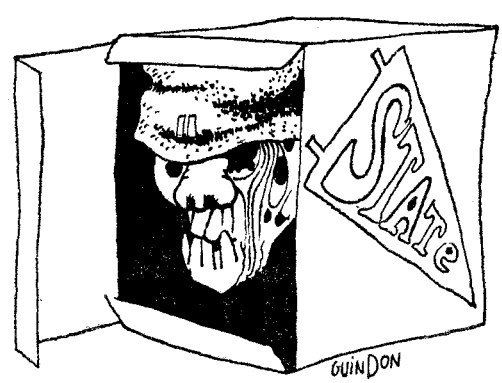
GABRIEL KOLKO

Mr. Kolko is an associate professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of The Triumph of Conservatism *(Free Press) among other books, and the forthcoming* The Politics of War *(Random House).*

Philadelphia

The university has become the main arena for an anti-war movement that is now passing from dissent to resistance. The anger of frustration, the inchoate thrashing about for means to make profound opposition effective, has in two brief months created dozens of Berkeleys and Penns. The Defense Department, largely indifferent toward the ritual gestures that characterized the peace movement until now, has taken important measures to save its rapidly eroding connection to the American university system, a relationship that took two decades and billions of dollars to solidify. That it can save the association is now very much in doubt, especially if the anti-war movement intensifies its efforts and adjusts its tactics to attain maximum impact. [See "Uneasy Alliance: Universities and the Pentagon" by Gabriel Kolko, *The Nation,* October 9.]

Massive faculty and student effort over the past two



years at the University of Pennsylvania resulted in the termination of the university's chemical warfare research geared to Vietnam and by September had caused Penn to abandon every form of classified military research. At Cornell, implicated in the Penn affair through its Aero Lab (CAL), faculty opposition rose steeply when it was revealed that CAL had contracted for a counterinsurgency project in Thailand, to cost $1.5 million and scheduled to last up to five years. Cornell President James Perkins resigned from the CAL executive board,

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and when the faculty senate, at the beginning of October, voted overwhelmingly to sever CAL from the university it assumed that the trustees would soon endorse the university's wishes. Minnesota's new president, Malcolm C. Moos, announced last September that he would call for an end to secret research, in part because military rules denied him knowledge of a classified campus project on the use of drugs for the interrogation of prisoners because he lacked a security clearance. The project was canceled. Last spring, New York University moved to tighten restrictions on the acceptance of secret research, and failed to renew a chemical warfare study that might have run into student-faculty opposition.

Stanford's Committee on Research Policy urged at the beginning of October that the university ban all contracts whose identity or sponsorship could not be revealed, as well as social and behavioral science studies in foreign countries that required security clearances. The chairman acknowledged that his committee was out to eliminate all CIA and intelligence research, though in fact the new ruling will have little effect on the science departments. A national survey taken by *The Wall Street Journal* at the end of October concluded that a number of key schools were scaling down or abandoning secret research to prevent a repetition of the Penn and Cornell crises. But some were not to make the shift in time to avoid trouble.

Columbia quietly transferred contracts in its Electronics Research Lab to a new organization with which it claims to have no affiliation, but on October 16, the local SDS revealed that an unclassified project in the Institute on East Central Europe was CIA-sponsored, a charge that the university immediately admitted. At Pittsburgh, the faculty had been considering a new policy when members revealed that various sections of the university were engaged in projects as diverse as ordnance systems and chemical warfare against Vietnamese tunnels. Accordingly, a special faculty senate was convoked at the beginning of December. Princeton, which technically refuses to permit classified research on campus, was embarrassed on October 23, when thirty-one students blocked the entrance to the Institute for Defense Analysis' communications research building on property rented from Princeton. The dramatic confrontation, which led to the arrest of the students and unusual national publicity, gave direction and content to the resistance theme of the Washington Mobilization of the prior weekend, but also opened the question of the IDA's relation to the twelve universities, including Princeton, that own it. The Princeton facility, which has been publicly identified as working on code making and breaking for the National Security Agency, employs faculty members, as do IDA projects elsewhere dealing with the application of chemical warfare in Vietnam, strategic nuclear warfare and the like. Challenges to university participation in the IDA, most of whose $15 million budget comes from the Pentagon, have been initiated among students and faculty of other member institutions.

But up to now the most important instance of opposition to military research has arisen at the University of Michigan, whose $21.6 million in Pentagon contracts —$10 million for classified research—ranked it third nationally in 1966. On October 17 the *Michigan Daily*, one of the best student papers in the nation, began a four-part series documenting Michigan's long-term Thailand counterinsurgency contracts, missile research, and development of electronic warfare and infrared systems geared to the Vietnamese War. When the paper began detailing faculty exploitation of university-developed technology and facilities to create private companies worth millions of dollars, it became clear that key Michigan administrators were eager to avoid public embarrassment and possible scandal. The Dean of Engineering now readily advocates that the Willow Run Lab, where most of the controversial work is done, be dissociated from the university. On November 1, more than 300 students and faculty sat in at the administrative building and were politely addressed by leading university officials. There was no show of police force, and therefore no violence, and in the past weeks Michigan officials have been responsively exploring ways to heed the demands of the university community. It seems most likely that Michigan will follow the lead of Penn and Cornell.

While the power and will to sever the military's contractual ties with the universities has been growing, a bloodier and more complex issue—the appearance of recruiting agents from Dow Chemical, the CIA and the various service branches on campus—has been tormenting academic life. Scarcely an important university has escaped some manifestation.

At Wisconsin, on October 18, police brutality against hundreds of students among some 3,000 demonstrators resulted in seventy student injuries, paralyzed the life of the school for days and led President Fred Harrington to threaten that "the university has been firm, is firm, and will be firm." Harvard contented itself with placing eighty-one undergraduates on probation and "admonishing" many more, but at Indiana the police arrested thirty-seven students.

The Dow-CIA issue is one of principle and tactics, but also of justifiable passion and outrage that the Vietnamese War evokes among more and more young people whose values and very lives are threatened, if not this year then next, by the defoliation chemicals, napalm and terror which the Dow and military recruiters symbolize. It would have been dismal had the sensibilities of students been so dulled that they ignored the offensiveness and challenge of the recruiters' presence.

This said, the Dow confrontations revealed as never before the intellectual and moral superficiality of all too many college administrators, and the tactical ineptitude of the student anti-war movement. The stands taken by administration spokesmen betrayed how few of them understood the nature of the academy as something other than a service station for corporate and government interests. "Civilized procedures" had been abandoned, Harvard's Nathan Pusey commented in his predictably bland style, "to restrain the freedom of expression or movement of others." "In the interest of free speech and against unlawful assembly, I'm prepared to use force," Harrington told the Wisconsin state Senate.

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"Thought control," echoed Stanford's provost, Richard W. Lyman. Students and faculty should have been equipped to reply immediately to such civil libertarian pleas on behalf of makers of flaming death or espionage, and it is unfortunate testimony to the paucity of thought that accompanies the flood of anti-war passion that the students did not meet the argument head on.

Freedom in a university is the freedom of public exposition and dialogue, for anyone—anarchists or liquidationists of the innocent alike—and the anti-war movement must recognize that it will become the major victim should administrators permit exceptions to that rule. But the freedom of the CIA or Dow in a university consists only in its right to justify its function and advocate its values in open forum, with words; it does not extend to the use of university facilities as the instrument for advancing its objectives. It is this critical distinction that students and faculty should have immediately clarified. When Dow is invited to speak publicly it usually refuses, for Dow makes Saran Wrap, napalm and profit, and ideas for their own sake are foreign to it.

If the tension between the abstract principles of the university and the actual deeds of the social order that support it leads to drastic administrative compromises, administrators cannot complain when students and faculty reaffirm the humanist obligations and neutrality of the university at embarrassing moments. The fault lies with the administrators who ask Rusk and McNamara to take honorary degrees, for these honorific gestures are not in recognition of scholarly or humane qualities but rather acknowledge the control of authority which conflicts with intellectual sensibilities—an intrusion of power into the true freedom, and immediate material powerlessness, of ideas. What the protesters advocate is no more than true academic freedom and disinterestedness through total functional neutrality toward the foreign policy of the existing federal government, an end to two decades of compromise with the Defense Department.

Once a university administration permits Dow or, much more important, the Pentagon to exploit it for non-academic purposes, it can expect the response of its critical constituencies to be non-academic, since they have no formal, binding procedure for registering their wishes, and will not passively consent to polite impotence unless everyone is subject to the same restrictions. In the last analysis, the university community consists exclusively of the scholars and the seekers after truth and knowledge who have certain rights and obligations only in regard to one another. Academic freedom exists *solely* in this context, and so-called "freedoms" to hire on campus or other service activities are tolerable only insofar as they do not distract from the larger essential functions. As long as students have the civil right to protest peacefully, as was recently reaffirmed by Federal District Court Judge James Doyle in connection with Wisconsin students, disciplinary rules will not solve the administrators' problems. It is not for the students to be silent or obedient, but for the administrators to confront their relationship to the military services in such a manner as will permit the autonomy of the university to survive and the dialogue within the academy to continue on the basis of ideas, not on the power of tear gas and the ability of military agencies to violate the ground rules for true freedom and discourse.

The price of such renovation is disengagement, but that goal is not apt to be obtained until those who oppose Dow and the military ethics which Dow symbolizes attach priorities to their objections. Dow, the CIA and the Pentagon seek to get their work done, and they can recruit quite as easily in hotels as on campus (the CIA has already chosen to make the shift where necessary). Dow and the military contractors have more candidates than ever before because draft exemptions go with their jobs, and this supply of graduates of inconsistent conscience—who favor direct violence for others but not for themselves—cannot be cut off. To the extent that anti-recruitment activities distract from the more permanent and attainable goal of stopping military research on campus, students and faculty should minimize them. Here the clarity of anti-war student-faculty leadership, in recognizing what is both attainable and critical, can make the difference. At Michigan the Dow-type protests were secondary, but at Wisconsin, with its $1.4 million Army Mathematics Center and $1 million in Defense contracts, the activists skirted the truly vital issues.

To the Defense Department the resistance to its contracts on campus poses a vital threat to its "basic" research structure. "We can work around it but we certainly hope it's not carried too far," one Pentagon spokesman confessed several months ago. "It would be adverse to the national interest," stated another. At the beginning of November the Pentagon's head of research, John S. Foster, told some university administrators that he would attempt to retain as much as possible of the Pentagon's university-based research.

On November 2, Foster issued the scarcely noticed statement that he was "taking steps to assure that in the future all basic research supported by the Department of Defense at universities will be unclassified." Anti-military research critics have not hitherto exploited this distinction between "basic" and "applied" research, with about $140 million going to the former. Even though Foster refused to reveal the dollar distribution of classified and unclassified "basic" research, he in effect made it possible for critics to claim that no classified research is "basic." Since many universities justified acceptance of classified contracts only on the ground that the research was alleged to be fundamental, the Pentagon inadvertently undercut a major rationale for taking their money. Applied research, whether or not it is classified, is inherently non-academic and can be performed anywhere. Faculty opponents are likely to ask that the Pentagon identify all contracts as "basic" or "applied," thus broadening their argument for rejecting Pentagon work altogether.

Foster's November statement also conceded that the Pentagon's definition of "basic research" was "new knowledge . . . *relevant to security*"—a novel qualification since basic academic research has traditionally been considered pure scholarship, not necessarily relevant to

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anything. Foster's interpretation, which one might have predicted from earlier frank Pentagon admissions that there was nothing disinterested in anything it paid for, now confronts the university still more implacably with the incongruity of its ideals and practices. Those heretofore untroubled by the controversy must now define a policy toward the Pentagon's detailed statement. In fact, seeking to save existing Pentagon-university links, Foster committed tactical errors of the first order.

Since at least a large portion of Pentagon dollar allocations go to classified work—at Michigan it is nearly one-half—the issue will arise as to why universities should retain already existing contracts in classified form, especially in "basic" research. Anticipating the challenge, Foster backed away from his promise of imminent reform by adding that the new changes "are more administrative streamlining than anything else," leaving himself open to charges of having made false claims of reform. If only to add to the ineptness of his statement, Foster hinted at an expansion of "right to review" clauses, which make contracts subject to future classification restrictions at the Pentagon's discretion, a procedure like that followed in all government-sponsored foreign areas studies, where "results of research in the behavorial and social sciences related to foreign policy must be reviewed prior to publication." This clumsy analogy is likely to open the larger question of every form of government-sponsored foreign area research, and the ambiguous role of the Foreign Area Research Coordination Group in directing much university contract research. This little known committee, which includes the CIA and Pentagon, as well as more benign Executive agencies, in 1966 allocated more than $36 million primarily to academics for projects in which the CIA and Pentagon had an active role in sponsorship, research formulation, or contract allocation—as well as approval of publication. Even to refer to the FAR group, much less to its functions, was a tactless if honest exposure of the Pentagon's intentions.

The Pentagon's active search for justification of its continued relationship to the American university system is evidence that the university has now become the major arena for opposing the war in Vietnam. If that resistance is limited to only a single large institutional sector of American life, it is nevertheless a vital one to the ongoing functions of the cold war. What will be an expensive and time-consuming set of difficulties for the Pentagon will also be a profound reformation of the American university's social and historical role. One can measure the speed of that transformation over the past months, and that it will continue to gather momentum is now undeniable.

Preparation for Dow Day

JOHN L. SHOVER

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San Francisco

Unwilling simply to await the strife that has developed on other campuses, San Francisco State College acted before the Marine recruiters and Dow Chemical arrived by convening what was called a War Crisis Convocation, a week of debates and discussion, followed by a campus-wide vote. It was an attempt to build a genuine sense of community, and it met with considerable success.

When President John Summerskill and the academic senate agreed to endorse the convocation, they realized that it would have to deal with more than simple procedural and administrative questions. At stake were the very values and goals of the university. The students, faculty, administration and staff would have to examine fundamental values, if their discussions in the convocation were to have lasting purpose.

The problems confronting San Francisco State are identical with those that challenge almost every American university. Campus demonstrations and clashes with recruiters are tangible evidence of the deep sense of moral outrage and indignation felt by a sizable number of the most sensitive and able members of this student generation. Judgments on the propriety of recruiters on campus, or whether military training is appropriate for an academic curriculum, are not made in a vacuum and cannot be separated from a deeper context. Should the college merely reflect and transmit the values of the society, or should it question these values, challenge them, and provide new moral leadership? Whom should the university serve? Should it provide intellectual leadership beyond the campus boundaries, and if so, how does it do this amid the pressures generated by the society? Is the university a distinctive kind of social institution, dedicated to the pursuit of truth, or is it, like a business corporation or government bureau, an adjunct of whatever "establishment" dominates the society?

The idea of a convocation began to take shape in mid-October. Student activists, embittered by the brutal clashes with police at the Oakland Army Induction Center, were calling attention to what they alleged was the complicity of their own college with the war in Vietnam. Demonstrations were threatened against recruiters for the CIA, Dow Chemical and the Marines, all scheduled to appear upon the campus within weeks. Perplexed as to how the college should respond, President Summerskill and the academic senate found that no clear guides or policies existed. Marshall Windmiller of the Department of International Relations argued persuasively in the senate that the matters of real concern were substantive, not procedural. These involved the goals, aspirations and the future of all those associated with the university, not just faculty and administrators. All who were involved should be party to any decisions that were to be made.

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Given a cautious go-ahead signal by the senate, a small, loosely structured committee of student and faculty volunteers headed by Windmiller set to work on the planning.

The convocation was a storm center of controversy from the moment it was proposed. The student Left was suspicious. The convocation, it charged, was a not too subtle ploy by a liberal faculty and administration to co-opt the militant student anti-war movement by channeling it away from threatening, grass-roots organizing and action into placid, faculty-dominated discussion. Even if resolutions were passed, it was asked, how would they be implemented? Nevertheless, Students for a Democratic Society chose to participate, making clear, however, its intention to relent not one bit in direct-action protests against campus complicity. "We favor discussing issues," one SDS flier declared, "on which students can ultimately make decisions and on which students can *act.*"

From another position, skeptical faculty members threw different kinds of blocks in the way of the convocation. "Who's running this campus, the students or the faculty?" some asked. Cautious members of the academic senate insisted that action taken upon the resolutions be in no way binding, morally or legally. Others feared the haste with which the planning was done and urged a delay of several months to permit adequate planning and reflection. One department censured the senate for having called the convocation without first polling the entire faculty. John Bunzel, chairman of the Department of Political Science, expressed the concerns of many faculty members. Such questions as the definition of academic freedom and whether the university shall take a stand on political questions, he argued, strike at the very core of constitutional assumptions upon which a university in a free society operates. As such, they are not proper subjects for majoritarian decision making.

Clashing views about the decision-making process created one of the most difficult problems the planning committee dealt with. While many of the faculty argued that no vote at all should be taken, the leaders of the student Left demanded just as vehemently a "one man, one vote" rule, and insisted that the results of the voting should become college policy without further procedures. The committee and the academic senate hammered out a compromise that was criticized by both sides. The vote on the resolutions was to be considered an "opinion poll," but the faculty, the legal governing body of the institution, was to meet two weeks after the convocation to consider questions of college policy suggested by the results. There was no commitment that any action by the faculty or administration would ensue.

The four plenary sessions of the convocation, despite fears of faculty skeptics that anarchy was about to descend upon the campus, proceeded in orderly fashion. Whether to dismiss classes was left to the individual discretion of each professor and many, although not a majority, responded. The students were less diffident than their teachers. Participants jammed the main auditorium and overflowed into nearby rooms where many watched the proceedings on closed-circuit television. Discussion from the floor was passionate, but all speakers, including the commanding officer of the ROTC unit, received courteous attention.

On the opening Monday, two faculty members and students debated before an audience of 3,000 the question: "Should the college take and implement a stand on the war in Vietnam?" On Tuesday, panels discussed ROTC, military and industrial recruiting, and the relevance of academic freedom. Discussion was carried on Wednesday in a series of twenty-five (out of eighty-eight) department meetings, many involving more than 100 students and faculty. Meanwhile, in accord with a procedure developed by the planning committee, advocates of a variety of positions were gathering a minimum of fifty signatures on resolutions that, once the inevitable overlapping was eliminated, would be voted upon by the whole campus community. By the Wednesday deadline, more than fifty-five had been submitted. On Thursday and Friday the plenary sessions debated these resolutions, which the resolutions committee had narrowed to a still formidable twenty-seven. They varied from one that would deny to no organization or individual the right to interview on the campus to another that would bar from recruiting at the college the CIA, the military services and all businesses manufacturing destructive weapons. Nearly 5,000 of State's 15,000 students and faculty, the largest number ever to participate in a campus election, cast ballots on the twenty-seven resolutions during the three-day voting period, November 20-22.

The significance of the convocation, however, was not in its procedures, the resolutions or the voting. The floor discussions and, still more, the arguments carried on in classrooms, offices and the commons, clarified issues and delineated positions. Perhaps most important, the convocation revealed the ideological gulf that separates the

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university from the principal concerns and interests of its most socially conscious students.

The issue of recruitment brought ideological differences into clearest focus. Prof. Robert Berdahl, a political scientist, warned against drawing boundaries that would admit some recruiters and bar others because they were morally repugnant to the sentiments of the majority. To do so, he maintained, would be a coercive act that would vitiate the position of the university as the one institution in society which is an open forum where all ideas, the pure as well as the outrageous, may clash. Prof. Eric Solomon of the English Department rejoined that education itself is an act of selection; to fail to make choices was to fail to sustain the moral imagination worthy of a community of scholars. Recruiting, he contended, was not correctly a "free speech" issue since representatives of war-related industries and the military did not visit the campus to engage in open discussion.

The student activists who were the most numerous and vigorous participants in the convocation debates were impatient with such distinctions, particularly those that attempted to set the university apart from the rest of society. Many concurred with Marshall Windmiller's careful position [see page 651] that would avoid the problem of distinctions by permitting all industrial recruiting at the university and specifically ban only CIA and the military services. *Open Process*, the college's underground publication, sharply criticized Windmiller, asking why it was necessary to invoke so much reason, logic and history to arrive at so modest a conclusion. The polarity that separated the academic liberals from the new student Left was made perfectly evident in an SDS flier which declared:

> Implicit in the convocation's format is the kind of free speech argument that we have learned is largely irrelevant to the issues. This argument depends on the civil libertarian notion that a kind of "absolute" free speech is possible in a society that introduces a bias into every aspect and on every level of American life, even into the lives of individuals who pride themselves on their "open minds," without recognizing that an "open mind" is itself a doctrinaire position. Our experience has shown that the doctrine of "open-mindedness" typically lends itself to empty-headedness, inaction, ivory-tower intellectualism, moral cowardice and an ideological position that ultimately constitutes no threat to the establishment. Eventually there is a point at which the only legitimate question is *not* "how open are our minds?" but rather "shall we act now?" If we all had "open minds," AFROTC would remain on campus, and CIA would continue recruiting here.

Such declarations are most agonizing of all to the liberal intellectuals, many of whom have fought the free-speech battle since the McCarthy era. The sharply contrasting frame of reference of radical students renders difficult the most basic kind of discourse. At the root of the position of the new student Left is a sense of angry moral indignation: the only real question is one of making moral choices. A society that condones the use of napalm and drops bombs on leper hospitals is outrageous. And according to these students, a college, like San Francisco State, which allows war recruitment to continue and maintains an ROTC program, assists the war in Vietnam and is in complicity with immorality.

From the discussions on the floor of the plenary sessions, an observer might easily have concluded that radical students dominate San Francisco State. The Students for a Democratic Society, allied with the Progressive Labor Party and the Young Socialists' Alliance, were the most organized group. Their members spoke most frequently and their hard work and initiative set the tone of the convocation and determined the issues that received most attention. Whether by design or not, the offensive of the student Left brought into action a segment of the campus that has been oblivious to four years of political activity and educational experimentation. Students and faculty in the business division, the quiet core of the silent Center, attempted to counter SDS by organizing "Students To Keep the Campus Open." "Please protect my right of freedom of choice on this campus," read the petition they addressed to President Summerskill. "I request that the San Francisco State College administration protect the rights of individual students to participate in on-campus functions without the physical interference of students or non-students. I respect the right of dissent on the campus, but regard force and violent methods to be incompatible with the freedom of the college and the rights of the students." By the end of the convocation, they claimed that 3,251 students and faculty had signed. "Most of the people discussing free speech," quipped one faculty member, "are those who don't want free speech to take place."

The process by which the resolutions were voted upon was the subject of many complaints. Because there were important shadings of meanings in different resolutions, and because they feared confidence in the convocation's procedures might be damaged if too many were scrapped, the resolutions committee chose to present many that significantly overlapped. A voter who cast his ballot for banning ROTC, for example, had to decide, then, if he would also vote "yes" on a resolution that merely modified the program, even if in so doing his vote would indicate greater support for the moderate position than it deserved.

The votes that resulted from such decisions present problems of interpretation. Nevertheless, some clear patterns emerge. By large majorities, the voters indicated that they wanted all industries and the military services to continue recruiting on the campus. By a smaller margin, a majority also favored continuance of ROTC. Sentiment at San Francisco State, then, seems to run strongly sympathetic to an "open campus," the strong anti-war stand and apocalyptic concerns of the militant Left not enjoying majority support. Apparently the student Left still has an important educational job to do in its own backyard; perhaps it needs to re-evaluate its tactics.

What did the war-crisis convocation achieve? San Francisco State today represents a college administrator's worst nightmare. The campus is acutely politicized, and students and faculty alike are grouping around mutually exclusive positions. Given the political climate of California, the college is vulnerable to a whole range of external repressive actions.

Yet there were important accomplishments. San Fran-

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cisco State's problems did not arise from the convocation. Rather it exposed emotions and cleavages that now confront or soon will confront every large American university. San Francisco State is in a better position for having attempted, even in an awkward way, to look seriously at its values and goals. For the first time in its history, a sense of community may be emerging in the sprawling, impersonal institution. People separated by wide disagreements are nevertheless united by having common concerns and sharing a sense of urgency and crisis. Faculty members who have grumbled at or ignored the activities of students, academic departments where the university has been conceived as a service station, individuals whose perception of the social crisis was confined to newspaper headlines have found themselves involved, often painfully, in difficult personal decisions. In places untouched before, a dialogue has commenced. Among the most important episodes of the convocation week was the visit of several of the most dedicated anti-war students to a student-faculty meeting in the business division. Not many opinions were changed in two hours of angry discussion, but at the end a few heads on both sides were nodding in agreement and the challengers were given an ovation for their courage in making an appearance. The Drama Department, usually politically aloof, is discussing plans to write and perform plays dealing with the war; they have asked the faculty and staff in the Department of International Relations to brief them on the background and alternatives in Vietnam.

No one ever hoped that the convocation would eliminate crisis. Internally and externally, severe pressures will be bearing down upon San Francisco State in the months ahead. But perhaps by a frank confrontation of issues these pressures are being shared through the community. A qualitatively better environment has been created for dealing with perplexing questions.

Scholars and Soldiers . . .

A Crisis of Values

MARSHALL WINDMILLER

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San Francisco

While the problems deriving from the impact on colleges and universities of the war in Vietnam have produced intense emotions and a certain polarization of opinion, they have not, in my opinion, produced an amount of scholarly study commensurate with their complexity and their seriousness. We speak of crisis and militancy with so little restraint as to deprive these words of much of their force. Crisis is not new to the academic community, and neither is student militancy. At Harvard, forty-three of the seventy members of the class of 1823 were expelled just before commencement for participating in a student rebellion. Student militancy was a worry even to Thomas Jefferson. Indeed, that farsighted gentleman foresaw many of the problems we have today when he wrote the regulations for the University of Virginia in 1824. "No student," said Jefferson, "shall, within the precincts of the University, introduce, keep or use any spiritous or vinous liquors, keep or use weapons or arms of any kind, or gunpowder, keep a servant, horse or dog, appear in school with a stick, or any weapon . . . without permission of the professor, nor use tobacco by smoking or chewing, on pain of any of the minor punishments. . . ."

While the list of things which are forbidden by campus authorities has changed over the years, the issues that are raised by the existence of such lists have been fairly constant. What are the rules and laws by which the academic community is to be governed; what is their relationship to the rules and laws of the society as a whole; who is to enforce them, and by what means? It is interesting that Jefferson also had a clear-cut statement on these questions. "Fighting with weapons which may inflict death," he wrote, "or a challenge to such a fight, given or accepted, shall be punished by instant expulsion from the University, not remissible by the faculty; and it shall be the duty of the proctor to give information thereof to the civil magistrate that the parties may be dealt with according to law. Offenses cognisable by the laws of the land shall be left to the cognisance of the civil magistrate, if claimed by him, or otherwise to the judgment of the faculty."

In quoting Jefferson's views I am not suggesting that

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they are necessarily appropriate to the present day. I draw attention to them only as a reminder that many of the problems we have are old, and that something worth while may be learned from a study of the past.

I wish to state an assumption which lies at the foundation of the argument I am about to develop. It is that the enterprise of higher education today is in a state of crisis that is both unique and of severity greater than any that has been encountered before. This crisis is sometimes thought to have been caused by the war in Vietnam, but the war has only made acute a process which has been going on for some time. The process is the militarization of American society. The acute stage began around 1960, when military procurement became the prime determinant of the economy and the basis of a whole new socio-economic power center. As it progressed, military considerations came to dominate our foreign policy. The present stage is one of readjustment of the American value system to accord with the dictates of military necessity. We are already well into this period and the real nature of the crisis we face is the necessity to decide whether the academy shall resist this development, or become one of its instruments.

To analyze the problem properly, we should examine fundamental values. We must find out whether we can agree on what is really important and what is merely peripheral to our interests as students and teachers. We cannot do so without asking who we are, and what our role in society is and should be. And we cannot do that without looking at our past, for we cannot know who we are without knowing what we have been.

The pressure of our present situation has prompted me to do some reading in the history of the academy in America. It has not been exhaustive, and I make no pretense to expert knowledge. But this reading has led me to conclude that certain values have been central to American academic life. Some of them are very old, and go back at least as far as Socrates. Others seem to be peculiar to the American experience.

The first of these values is truth, and the compulsion to search for it wherever it may be and no matter how profoundly the effort may upset dogma and popular opinion. Related to this is the right and the duty to disseminate knowledge as widely as possible for the good and welfare of all.

The second value is skepticism. The academy is always skeptical, always challenging old assumptions, always replacing what seemed to be true yesterday with new truths that are discovered today.

The third value is tolerance—the willingness to coexist with ideas and practitioners who are thought to be in error because of the possibility, often demonstrated in history, that the majority is mistaken and the minority right. Out of this tolerance comes a remarkable diversity of ideas which enriches the intellectual life of the academy and makes it a stimulating place.

The fourth value is mental discipline. The academy is engaged in training young people to discipline their minds, to learn to conquer boredom and tedium, not flee from it, to learn the value of caution in expressing the truths that one believes one has discovered. In writing a sonnet, learning a foreign language, composing a fugue, solving an equation, learning, karate, analyzing an international crisis—in all of these endeavors the key to achievement is discipline.

The fifth value of the academy, and this is peculiarly an American value, is the idea of service. In the English universities the central theme is the enrichment of culture. In the German universities the motif is scholarship—the careful and detailed development of esoteric knowledge. We have these themes too, but we have also an idea of service that is especially American. It is what has gotten us into the trouble we are in today, for we have not been clear about whom we are serving. We have served the farmers by setting up agricultural extension services in our great universities. We have served labor with institutes of industrial relations. We have served business with business schools, and the professions with professional schools. These schools have not only trained personnel to take up positions in these vocations but have also provided research and expert advice to the industries and professions on a continuing basis.

But the most important entity to which the academy has rendered service, particularly since World War II, has been the government. As the government has become increasingly influenced by the military and its satellite industries, the effect on the academy has been profound. Even the academy's traditional role of service to the business community has become in great measure service to the military, because it is for the military that a large segment of industry, particularly highly technical industry like electronics, is working.

This process can be seen in its most advanced form at the University of California in Berkeley. The university operates for the Atomic Energy Commission two gigantic nuclear bomb factories, one at Livermore, Calif., the other at Los Alamos, N.M. A great deal of the university's program in the sciences is dependent upon contracts from the government which have military purposes.

But the process is much more extensive than that. It has to do with the social sciences as well, where large numbers of scholars accept consultantships with the military services or with militarized industries, or take leave to work for the RAND Corporation or the dozens of similar organizations. It has to do with the extent to which the academy readily took up the study of counterinsurgency in order to give the army a weapon with which to pursue a counterrevolutionary foreign policy in Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has to do with psychologists who undertake research to facilitate the interrogation of prisoners. In short, the academy has become deeply involved with the military-industrial complex, and this involvement has greatly affected its values.

I am not a pacifist and I believe that until there is some sort of world government, the United States must have armed forces. I do not want what I am about to say to be interpreted as a blanket condemnation of the entire military enterprise, or of the many men of

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honor and laudable personal values who belong to the military services. I do wish to point out, however, that the military has its own set of values, that those values are propagated by the growth of the military-industrial complex, and that some of them are antithetic to the values of the academy.

What are these values that threaten the academy? The first is power. The military must have the power to destroy the enemies and the potential enemies of the nation. Traditionally, that has meant having the weapons necessary to kill soldiers and destroy the enemy's war-making capability. Today, because of the highly political nature of strategic deterrence and counterinsurgency warfare, because of the importance of psychological warfare techniques, power means much more than weapons. It means also the political power to eliminate restraints on the most effective use of weaponry. That is why the Air Force, for example, has helped to establish the Air Force Association, a powerful lobbying and pressure group with a nation-wide membership made up of Air Force personnel and war industry employees and managers. It is one of the best financed and most effective lobbies in Washington.

The political power of the Air Force also reaches directly into the academy. One example is the Himalayan Studies Project at the University of California in Berkeley. Why should a social science study of the strategic Himalayan states north of India be funded with a $285,000 grant from the Air Force? In such a project, to what extent does the academy seek truth for purposes defined by the values of the academy, and to what extent does it serve the military for purposes defined by them?

The value placed on power by any military establishment is not evidence of character defects or evil qualities among military men. It derives simply from the nature of the enterprise. As long as the military mission is to destroy an enemy, soldiers must place a high value on power.

A second value of the military is obedience—obedience to authority and to doctrine. The military man is trained to execute his orders without question. This value also derives from the nature of the military enterprise. An army cannot function effectively by democratic process, and considerations of morale do not permit free inquiry by the soldiers into the merits of a particular campaign or war. For these reasons, the military must control the information flow to its constituent elements, must manage and censor the news, and must frequently tell lies. These procedures tend to produce rigid orthodoxies and conforming individuals. There are exceptions, like Gen. Billy Mitchell, but he was court-martialed for his nonconformity.

The third value of the military is the centralization of power and authority. There can be only one strategy for an army if it is to fight successfully. All forces must work together, and this requires a highly centralized system. There may be diversity of weapons, but there can be no diversity of plans or goals.

There are, of course, other military values—bravery, patriotism, dedication to duty, chivalry (though I fear that chivalry is a casualty of the Vietnamese War), but the main values are those I have cited, and they are hostile to the values of the academy. They produce a rigid orthodoxy and conformity which stifles diversity, is intolerant of dissent, and gravely endangers the pursuit and dissemination of truth. Therefore, the penetration of the power of the military into the academy can only be regarded as a threat which those who cherish the traditional academic values must resist.

Unfortunately, reaching this conclusion does not solve a problem that is complicated and studded with dilemmas. The problem of on-campus recruitment by the war industries provides one example. Some view this as a free-speech issue. I would agree that it is if the recruiters came on campus to speak in the auditorium or in a classroom. But they don't, and by denying them office space in which to hire employees we would not deny them the right to make speeches or engage in dialogue elsewhere on the campus. For these reasons, I do not think that free speech is really the issue here.

However, I do think that there are better grounds for arguing that it would be unwise to ban these recruiters. To ban war industries, it is necessary to define what a war industry is, and this is difficult. Many of the industrial employers who recruit on our campuses have war contracts. Some have a large amount of military business; others have less. By what formula shall we permit some to recruit, while others are banned? I do not think that a satisfactory formula can be devised, and therefore we must ban or permit all industrial recruitment. I favor the latter course because it provides a service which some students find valuable.

Moreover, the weakening of the military-industrial complex which would result from banning Dow Chemical and similar firms from campus would not, I think, be significant. It is far better to use the occasion of their visit to educate the campus and the public about napalm and the war; a greater victory is won if students can be persuaded not to be interviewed.

The military services and the CIA present a more clear-cut case. While the mere presence of recruiters from time to time does not really endanger the values of the academy, I believe that there is some important symbolic value to be derived from refusing to cooperate with them. If these were normal times, and our government were not dominated by the military-industrial complex, I would make a different judgment. But my studies lead me to conclude that the military exerts a dangerous power over our government today, and any form of resistance to this power, even symbolic resistance, is therefore important. This applies even more forcefully to the CIA, a para-military organization which is more dangerous because it is unprincipled, secret, insidious and not subject to adequate legislative control. I would ban all military service recruiters from the campus.

As for ROTC, persuasive arguments are offered for having these programs on campus. The main one is that they provide an opportunity to instill in the minds of some future military officers a respect for the values of the academy. There would also be some educational

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gain if the ROTC were willing to discuss the problems of war and peace publicly with other disciplines on the campus that are concerned with these questions. They are, however, reluctant to do this.

Again, if these were ordinary times, I should welcome the opportunity to educate future officers of the military services, even though I believe that to them the values of the academy would always be secondary to those of their chosen profession. The military-industrial complex in my judgment is a menace, not only to the academy but to our democratic form of government. ROTC is one of its tentacles. Therefore, I believe we should cease all cooperation with it.

There are other problems to be faced. None of the alternatives open to us is without a price tag; any decision will cost us something. There was a time when universities could be sanctuaries, shielded from the pressures of politics and functioning outside the political arena. Many times I have wished that we could again be protected from mass hysteria, from irresponsible and anti-intellectual politicians, and left in peace to handle our four-letter words, our protesters, our journalistic excesses and our nude-ins in our own way.

But to be tolerated as a sanctuary while we are financed by public moneys, we should have to be rather quiet, and we simply are not capable of that. This is especially true when there is massive social injustice in the land, and a monstrous war in Vietnam. Whether we like it or not, for good or for evil, we are highly political institutions in a political environment, and therefore on some issues we must take a political position.

The war in Vietnam is a clear and present danger to the values of the academy. It is a danger not only because it may tear us apart with controversy too laden with emotion but also because it is an affront to the truth. The press refers to the credibility gap; the reality is that it is a war based on lies. The President says that we are fighting to implement the Geneva Accords, when in fact we are fighting to prevent them from being implemented. He says we are fighting to defend freedom, when in fact we are fighting to protect a tyrannical government in South Vietnam. He says we are fighting to prevent Chinese hegemony in Southeast Asia, when in fact we are fighting to establish American hegemony. He says we are fighting to stop aggression, when in fact we are committing aggression. There is not space to document these assertions here, but they can be documented.

How can we seek and teach the truth about Vietnam without becoming opponents of the government? In present circumstances, either the scholar becomes a resister simply by being a scholar, or he gives up his love of the truth. The academy takes and implements a position on the war whenever its members study and disseminate the truth.

If what I say is correct, then we are given a clue as to how we should respond to the war in Vietnam. In my opinion, the academy opposes the war best when it does what it is best equipped to do, namely works to discover and disseminate the truth. The universities should adopt as an urgent priority the task of educating their own members to the truth about American policy in Vietnam and the dangerous growth of the military-industrial complex. They should then develop new and unique methods to reach out into the community to educate public opinion. I am not talking about a modest speakers' bureau or a symposium or two. The seriousness of the crisis requires bold and radical proposals for new instruments of communication and new techniques for putting pressure on those who control the existing media. We shall develop specific proposals when more of us begin to think seriously about them.

The academy cannot survive in an environment where the truth is regarded as a hostile stranger. Unless we accept greater responsibility for the environment, we shall not be able to protect the values of the academy.

Mr. Leavitt Comes to Harvard

GEORGE ROSS

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Cambridge

Institutions exist in, not outside, society, and universities are no exception. In recent weeks a whole series of campuses have been the objects of student protest, not only against the war but to expose what the protesters see as university complicity with the war, through the grant of university facilities for war research, or for job recruitment by industries with military contracts. Thus when Mr. Leavitt, the Dow Chemical recruiter, came to Harvard, Harvard was brought face to face with its position in the real world. In the process, its status as a liberal university was challenged.

At Harvard, as across the nation, a strong current of militant "Resistance" to the war was beginning to flow. Peaceful protest had gotten nowhere; the war was bigger and more vicious than ever; more drastic action was called for. Demonstrations which deliberately confronted authorities, which broke laws and transgressed limits, were one alternative for the frustrated anti-war militant. Major physical confrontations with the police had occurred all over the country in the early autumn, and many advocated such "Resistance" tactics at Harvard. "Putting one's body on the line" was an individualistic kind of protest. One did it in the hope that others, perceiving the depth of the protester's opposition to the war, might be brought themselves to question the nature of the war.

The tactic of "putting one's body on the line," while it appeared to be gaining nationally, did not control the field at Cambridge. Harvard-Radcliffe Students for a

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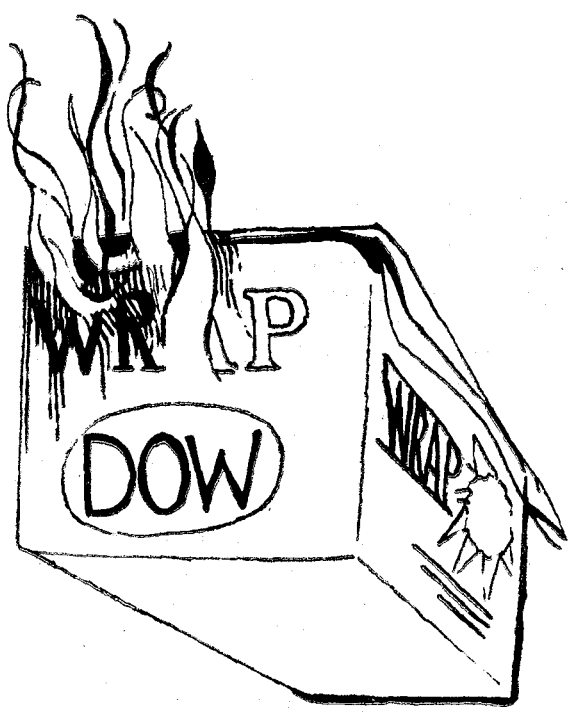
Democratic Society is a large, influential group on campus. It is amorphous, as are all SDS groups, but nonetheless possessed of a high level of political sophistication. HR-SDS is also highly self-critical, and the new school year had brought it to an intensive examination of its goals and methods.

Many local activists felt that their work in the past had been that of an in-group, with the result that the Harvard radical community, although sizable and growing, was somewhat isolated from the majority of students. When an action was taken, for example last year's confrontation with Secretary McNamara, it was not prepared for with serious political work on campus. Such actions were therefore not fully understood by the rest of the student body and often led to the further isolation of SDS. Yet most students were upset by the war. Sectarianism thus represented a political blunder, a failure to build and broaden an anti-war movement when such building and broadening were objectively possible.

The remedy was theoretically simple: SDS, by serious and intelligent organizational work, had to present itself politically as an organization dedicated to the interest of all students. It had to make itself credible to the majority of students, upset by the war but as yet unprepared to make the connections which would lead to committed radicalism. In short, SDS had to "build a base." In this new perspective, the time might come for "putting one's body on the line," but only when and if most students understood politically why it was necessary.

Two approaches to anti-war action—base building and personal resistance—were thus being put forth at Harvard when the likelihood of the Dow recruiter's visit became known. On the day before Mr. Leavitt arrived, the SDS Executive Committee met to consider what should be done, and the "base builders" won over the "resisters." No one, it was felt, had made the effort necessary to convince the student body that recruitment by a firm engaged in war production was not an exercise



of free speech (a serious problem, considering the depth of civil libertarianism at Harvard), let alone to persuade people that Dow recruiting involved university complicity in the war. It was decided to picket Mr. Leavitt, but sitting-in was rejected.

However, one of SDS's virtues—and problems—is its lack of discipline. A loose group with members at various stages of political development, it is not a party and its deliberations, while informative, are not necessarily binding. Those who wanted to "put their bodies on the line" were not deterred by SDS's decision.

The evening before Mr. Leavitt's appearance, a small group decided to promote a sit-in. When the recruiter set up shop in the morning, the peaceful demonstration prescribed by SDS began, but talk among the pickets turned to more drastic action. Soon a majority of those present (then relatively few) was won over, and the group decided to make it physically impossible for Mr. Leavitt to conduct his interviews. The action was seen both as a broad anti-war protest and as a protest against Harvard's complicity with the war effort through lending campus facilities to Dow. The demonstrators were "contributing to the forcible obstruction of an individual," to be sure, but for the greater good of ending the forcible destruction of the Vietnamese people, and of ending one aspect of the university's guilty association with that evil.

Once the decision to sit-in had been taken, a new situation existed. Putting one's body on the line is an irrevocable act, and the demonstration gained strength as people of various views acknowledged this fact. Committed activists had little choice—supporting a sit-in already in progress was different from advising against a proposed sit-in on grounds of political strategy. Though apprehensive about the effect of the demonstration on the attempt to build a broader anti-war movement on campus, those who originally opposed the sit-in felt they had to support the demonstrators.

But activists were not the only group to join the demonstrators, nor the biggest. As news of the demonstration spread, large numbers of students joined from a desire to protest the war in general. Strong in their revulsion against the killing in Vietnam, many of these people felt much less sure about the issue of university complicity. They were prepared to justify their action in terms that transcended the university. That they might be justified politically in breaking the university's laws on the level of the university itself, that there might be strong arguments against allowing Dow to recruit at Harvard, were possibilities which many of them had not considered.

As the sit-in progressed, the contradictions within the demonstrating group became more and more apparent. Despite speakers from the Left who constantly raised the critical political points, the group as a whole could not agree on why exactly it was that Mr. Leavitt was being confined to his room. General protest against the war, the need to "resist" whenever a good occasion to convey an anti-war message to the public presented itself, the wickedness of Dow Chemical and the allegation of university complicity were all advanced. The group then voted that the focus of the demonstration be Dow and the war, and set as a condition for Mr. Leavitt's release

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that he agree never again to come hunting for colleagues at Harvard. The weakness of this was that although it pushed aside the university's position in the affair, the demonstration was obviously directed against the university.

The protest soon attracted an array of deans, masters and other university officials, all seeking ways to spring Mr. Leavitt without provoking an ugly scene. In the end, the demonstrators themselves were largely responsible for his release. From talks with him it became apparent that he would not return unless invited back by the university, and that he saw his presence at Harvard not as his responsibility but as that of the university for offering him the use of its facilities. At length, the demonstrators themselves realized that holding Mr. Leavitt made much less sense than confronting the university. While students had no power to prevent Dow from producing napalm, they might have the power to prevent Harvard from offering Dow its hospitality. Thus Mr. Leavitt was finally let out. The sit-in group, 400 strong, then went into a two-hour discussion of the demonstration, voting to demand of the university that Dow, the CIA and the military not be allowed to recruit and that no one be punished for participating in the demonstration.

The key figures in shaping the university's response to the demonstration were the deans. Harvard deans, both by role and ethos, tend to be profoundly conservative. Their role is to protect the integrity of Harvard as an institution, to see that rules are not broken, limits not transgressed. Their ethos is that of the institution: Harvard liberalism. Moreover, given Harvard's national image and prominence, they must deal with situations such as the Dow demonstration in a manner to minimize scandal and conflict. Strong faculty demands for severity must be balanced against the feelings of faculty doves, and the results of such calculations must be balanced off against the likely response of the student body to any action proposed. In the Dow situation, would a measure of repression calm students and deter similar action in the future, or would it elicit student counteraction? (The word "Berkeley" was on almost every tongue.)

In certain respects the deans' response could be predicted. They believe that the liberal university is perhaps the best of man-made institutions. It follows from this that ungentlemanly conflict within the confines of such an institution not only ought not to happen but cannot be understood when it does happen. Their reaction to the demonstrators was that, even given the possibility of university complicity with the war, regular procedures should have been followed to deal with the situation. As good liberals, the deans thought "Dissent" through proper channels a fine thing; indeed that was their own strategy for ending the war. But actions outside these channels threatened the existing order itself, with which deans and liberals are really quite happy. The deans' response would focus, then, on the issue of rule breaking, reducing the controversy from that of a wicked war and the university's role in it to the transgression of regulations. The core issues of the demonstration would be totally obscured.

The Harvard faculty was in a different position. While in many ways the deans were mediators, peacemakers, politicians, the faculty was much more a protagonist. The faculty *is* the liberal university, by and large. When the institution is threatened, in real terms it is the faculty that is threatened. To them the liberal university is an island in a corrupt society, a neutral oasis where a detached search for truth can be carried on. The obstruction of Mr. Leavitt was thus seen as a direct challenge to Harvard's liberalism.

The faculty was not monolithic in this view. A minority (probably small) was prepared to defend the demonstrators. Some, caught up in the anti-war movement, argued that civil disobedience was justifiable for such a serious issue. Others defended the demonstrators in terms of the ideology of university liberalism itself. Job recruitment, they said, is no part of the university's role. Nor was the issue one of free exchange of ideas, since Mr. Leavitt had not come to exchange views with anyone, certainly not to exchange views about Dow and the war.

However, a majority of the faculty shared the deans' interpretation of the episode as rule breaking. What this would mean objectively was obvious: punishment for rule breaking would at the same time be a frontal attack on the Harvard anti-war movement. Moreover, justification of such punishment in terms of the ideology of the university put many on the faculty in the position of attacking the anti-war movement on campus, while maintaining their own opposition to the war.

Perhaps the best deterrent to strong punishment for the Dow demonstrators would have been the prospect of a unified and militant student action if such punishment were decreed. But the demonstration group was itself internally divided and its relations with the broader student body were uncertain at best. The sitters-in had been unified in the face of Mr. Leavitt by a broad feeling of anti-war revulsion. But after Mr. Leavitt left, and when it became apparent that the university would treat the demonstration as a breach of its rules, the group began to break up into a majority whose primary object had been to protest the war, and a large minority of New Leftists who had been determined, in different ways, to protest not only the war but the university's involvement with it.

The majority of moderate anti-war protesters felt that disregard of university rules was justified for such a noble cause, but they had not tackled the issue of university complicity prior to the demonstration. After the demonstration, confronted with arguments about free speech and the sanctity of the liberal university, and feeling just plain scared by the possible consequences of their action, the moderates pulled back to safer ground. While the sit-in was justified by the enormity of the war, a rule had been broken and the demonstrators were morally bound to face the consequences. This concession was crucial, for it meant that unity against punishment would be difficult to achieve.

Even among the most political of campus activists lines of division were readily apparent. "Student syndicalism," one school of politics in SDS, stresses student power tactics to revolutionize the university; it is part of a broader strategy for revolutionizing all institutions within which radicals find themselves. The rhetoric of "student syndicalism" was used by only a very few activists during

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the demonstration, but received an undue amount of publicity. Other radicals saw "student power" for its own sake as of secondary importance. For them, the primary goal was to expose the university as functional to a bad society via the issue of war complicity, and thus to build a political base for change.

Both groups, orthodox radicals and student syndicalists, agreed that no punishment for the demonstrators was justifiable. However, a third segment of the New Left, the Resistance, had yet another way of viewing the situation. To the resister, putting one's body on the line was the way to build an anti-war movement, but one corollary of this was *demanding* punishment. The tactic of breaking laws and rules was designed to force authorities to punish the idealistic transgressors, and thereby to "desanctify" the position of the law enforcers. Presumably this "desanctification," plus the resister's emphatic public stand, would lead others to change their minds about the war.

Conditions were hardly propitious for a struggle against the university's forthcoming punishment. The base builders were being proven correct, the demonstration had been premature, without enough prior political work. This was shown by the fragmentation of the protesters after the demonstration. It was even more clear from the reaction of the average Harvard student who saw the protest, as did the faculty, in terms of wronged liberalism.

For the deans, the task of determining the exact weight of punishment—enough to satisfy the faculty disciplinarians, not so much as would offend faculty moderates or provoke a violent student response—was far from simple. That no one be punished was impossible; that all 500 people who had turned in their student cards in support of the demonstration be punished was equally inconceivable. Punishment would have to be selective. Initially, then, three types of letters were sent out to protesters, according to their alleged roles in the demonstration. The strongest letter was sent to undergraduates who supposedly had been identified actually infringing Mr. Leavitt's "right of egress." The second letter was sent to undergraduates who had been identified in the building where the demonstration occurred. The third went to students who had simply turned in their cards. Well-founded rumor had it that the thirty or so people who had received strong letters were up for expulsion.

Selective punishment based on identification solved the deans' problem of how to meet student demands for collective responsibility. It also purported to isolate those most responsible for the sit-in from those who went along "without quite understanding what they were doing." As an added benefit, although perhaps not so phrased, those who received strong letters would most likely be New Left activists, whose projected departure from the campus was sure to make things calmer. The main difficulty was that it proved extremely awkward to relate selective punishment to any rational standard of justice. First, direct obstructers of Mr. Leavitt were not necessarily the leaders of the demonstration, and often owed their conspicuous positions to the chance moment of arrival. Then, why were those who found themselves physically in the corridor more guilty than the many others who were not there because they were off enlisting more students to participate? Approximately 100 graduate students turned in their cards, and at least thirty were present at the demonstration. Yet the graduate school deans, who were present, "could not identify" any graduate students at the demonstration.

The vagaries of the identification process itself were many and obvious. Tutors from the Harvard houses were called in to pick out people they knew (a process hardly designed to improve tutor/student relationships). Some tutors refused to spy for the administration; others did so in a halfhearted, absent-minded way. Some students who had taken leading parts in the demonstration were thus not identified at all, while others who had done little were named. The *Harvard Crimson* had an extensive photographic record of the demonstration, from which positive identifications could have been made, but the file was not used.

It began to look as though the issue of arbitrary punishment might reunite the demonstrators as a group and give them greater support from other students. However, selective punishment *cum* severance was still hypothetical. Whatever the deans finally proposed had to be discussed and ratified by administrative boards and a full faculty meeting. In the five-day interim much occurred. On the student side petitions for leniency and in protest against the proposed selective punishment received thousands of signatures. The threatened students insisted on collective responsibility and sought legal protection. At the same time, pressure was exerted from the faculty side. A *Harvard Crimson* advertisement supporting the demonstrators was signed by a number of Harvard faculty, plus many more Boston-area professors. A group of Law School professors was said to have sent the deans a letter protesting the proposed plan of punishment. Several *ad hoc* leniency caucuses sprang up in the faculty and among teaching fellows, groups which systematically approached deans, members of the administrative boards and key faculty members. The deans were deluged with letters and callers. And this pressure began to have effect. Important persons changed their minds and the deans moved away from the idea of dismissals.

In this atmosphere of de-escalation, the administration's final answer to the demonstration was, as Dean Glimp told the faculty meeting, a "measured response." No one was to be expelled; eighty-one were to be placed on probation, while 171 others were to be "admonished." The administration's recommendation was adopted overwhelmingly, while an amendment for equal punishment was rejected. The administration's retreat from possible expulsions caught the main pro-demonstrator faculty caucus by surprise. When defining the conditions of an adequate settlement, this group had decided that no severance was its central criterion. When it developed that there was to be no severance, but large numbers of students were to be placed on probation, the caucus was unprepared to press the deans on the selective punishment question itself. Thus the issue of how the eighty-one were chosen went largely unquestioned by the faculty. One proposal of a constructive nature was advanced: that a faculty/student committee be set up to discuss recruit-

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ment, the relation of the university to the war, and to protest on campus. The real grievances behind the demonstration had not been totally forgotten.

The punishments finally handed down evoked no significant protest, even when, a few days later, it was discovered that some students had been "identified" on the basis of self-incrimination, while others who had attempted to incriminate themselves in order to share collective responsibility had not been allowed to do so. Faculty and student movements toward moderation complemented each other, and the general response was relief that the affair was at last being concluded.

Harvard survived Mr. Leavitt's visit remarkably well. One reason for this was that the student anti-war movement was not coherent enough to wage a sustained struggle against the university. Indeed, the experience proved one thing: that many students and faculty did share a conception of the liberal university. On the side of the administration and faculty this shared system of values played an important role in moderating the situation, allowing men otherwise in profound disagreement to talk to one another and, more important, allowing moderates to talk the stern disciplinarians down. In the hectic period of discussion prior to the settlement, informal channels of communication involving people who had at least one set of principles in common were much more important than formal bodies. Thus a real purge of the student Left, which some desired and which was very close at several points, did not occur.

The Harvard anti-war movement had prevented Mr. Leavitt from recruiting; and the CIA, scheduled to arrive the following week, decided to stay away. But the real test of the Dow demonstration for the student Left is yet to come. The issue of university complicity with the war has been raised and it is now up to the Left to carry the issue, with convincing arguments and evidence, to the broader student body. Whether the movement will use the proposed student/faculty committee to further its cause (and this will involve doing some very serious homework on the relationship between the university and the war) is as yet unclear. If it does not do so, the committee will turn into what many on the faculty hope it will be, a device to divert and, if possible, to discredit the student Left.

But there is a conclusion to the story of the demonstration still broader than that. Militant anti-war actions, without serious prior political work among the as yet unmobilized majority, run the risk of isolating, not building, the anti-war movement. In the Harvard situation, the consequences of such risky actions can be overcome after the fact by hard efforts to reach the uncommitted. On a national scale, acts of militant individual moral protest against the war, largely committed by middle-class student types, may play directly into the hands of those making the war. If the government can count on being able to identify the anti-war movement with specific social groups (or rather can capitalize on the self-isolation of anti-war protesters), it will be able to carry on its horrible war. Let the anti-war movement build real contacts with other groups in society by hard organizational work, let it "build a base," and the war will be brought to an end, whatever the present government desires. The price which we shall all pay if that lesson is not learned, or is learned too late, may be greater than any of us yet imagine.

National Rally for Student Power

JAMES BRANN

Mr. Brann is a reporter on The Chronicle of Higher Education, *a national newspaper for college administrators and faculty.*

> *The lesson is clear—you cannot keep any group in subservience in a society which purports to be free without that group applying the standards and hopes of democracy to its own condition. The labor movement said that in the 30s; the Black people have said it in the 60s; the students will say it in the late 60s and beyond.*
>
> Remarks of Edward Schwartz, president of the National Student Association, to the national conference on student power.

> *We have no leaders; we are all leaders.*
>
> Reply of the University of Minnesota's radical 17th of November Movement to President Malcolm Moos's invitation to send their leader to meet with him.

Minneapolis

The American college student's reluctance to play Indian to someone else's chief may eventually prove as annoying to leaders of the student power movement as it is today to college administrators and faculty. From a distance, the campus architects of student power appear to have no problem except success. Scores of major colleges and universities have been torn this fall by demonstrations that often ended in bloody confrontations with police or National Guardsmen. In addition to widespread protests against recruiters for Dow Chemical and the armed services, students have been effectively mobilized to combat their administrations on such diverse issues as the construction of new buildings (City College of New York), overemphasis on athletics (Grambling College, La.), or the proposed sale of a campus (Long Island University).

The intensity of campus combat in recent weeks, with the attendant expulsions and arrests, makes the 1964 disturbances at Berkeley, which began this era of student power, appear mild. Today's student realizes that he has power and is learning how to wield it; his leaders, meanwhile, are bothered by the question of what to do with it. Some 350 of them gathered in late November to discuss goals and tactics at a national student power conference at the University of Minnesota. It was sponsored

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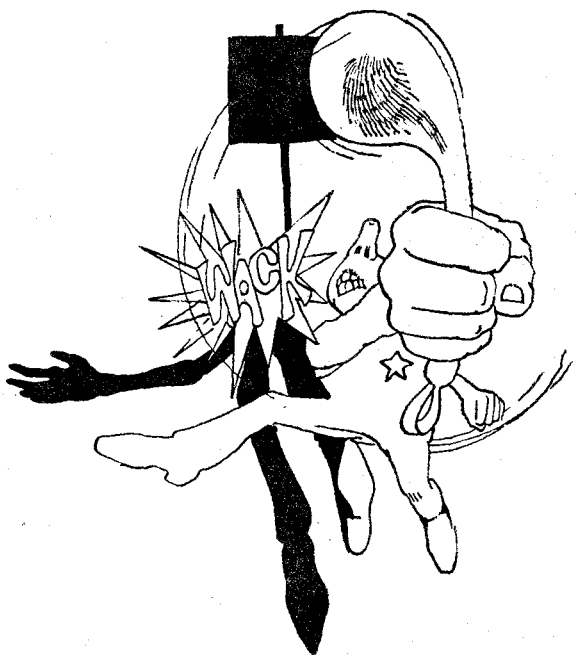
by the National Student Association, a twenty-year-old national organization of student leaders.

Delegates to the NSA meeting were more moderate than groups like the Students for a Democratic Society (though some NSA people are also SDS members) or Minnesota's 17th of November Movement. However, the NSA demands are tough enough to rattle administrators and faculty at most campuses. They want control of nonacademic regulations and a basic restructuring of America's colleges and universities.

Most of all, the serious delegates and their national leadership want reform of the academic process. And



they are prepared to use techniques developed in civil rights activities and in harassing campus recruiters to accomplish their goals.

"The best kids I know in America are dropping out of college or staying in and gritting their teeth because of their parents or because of their own self-doubts," Michael Vozick, an NSA staffer from Washington, told the delegates. Vozick was one of the founders of San Francisco State College's Experimental College; at 30, he advises students who want to set up their own free university experiments. "No one, or few people, are defending the present system because it is good.

"Educational reform is the hottest thing in higher education today," he continued. "The one thing holding it back is that the faculties and administration people fear kids would use it as an excuse to goof off. If we can just prove that won't happen, we'll have it made."

Vozick said his experience convinces him that students work harder when grades are eliminated and they are given responsibility to help plan courses.

NSA President Schwartz broke into a discussion of the faults of the lecture system and student complaints about the lack of relevance of their education:

"The desire for student power springs from the needs you have that aren't being met by the system as it exists. It's clear you're not getting the things you really want because the things the faculty has on its mind are not what's on your mind."

He insisted that certain powerful private concerns should somehow be woven into the educational program. As examples, he cited: "There's not a guy at this conference who isn't worried about the draft, or a girl who isn't worried about who she's going to marry or whether she will sleep with him first. There's not a person who isn't worried about his relationship to his family, and there is that quiet worry about your mother and father's relationship and the relationship you will have as husband and wife."

Like most delegates, the NSA president was short on specifics as to how he wanted his goals made real.

Asked another delegate: "How do we make colleges and universities more humane places in which to spend four years? Nobody knows how. How do we make a national organization of students? We haven't done it."

The delegates were divided on whether to form an alliance with the faculty. Vozick and Schwartz insisted it was the only viable course. Others felt that students have long been betrayed by professors and cannot afford to trust them. This faction pointed out that faculty senates have the power to institute innovation and reform, yet have resisted student (and administration) efforts to produce change in the classroom.

"Why aren't faculty members working for change?" a student from the University of Illinois shouted to Robert Van Waes, associate secretary of the American Association of University Professors. "Why do we have to have a student power conference? You already have the power."

Several students demanded to know why the AAUP does not educate its members to threaten to strike or resign when student rights are trampled.

"There's absolutely no way to keep a faculty member from acting like a faculty member," said Michael Rossman, 27, a founder of Berkeley's Free Speech Movement in 1964. He urged delegates to adopt the course of Black Power advocates and "get together in a group and cut yourself off from the faculty."

"It's the only way," he said. "You've got to stomp on the faculty member. Maybe someday we can all get together, black and white, students and faculty—but it won't work now."

Schwartz and the AAUP's Van Waes urged delegates to bring pressure on their deans to vote in favor of the joint statement on student rights drafted this year by representatives of five major organizations, including the NSA and the AAUP.

The statement, which covers a wide range of student rights and responsibilities on and off the campus, will be considered for endorsement at spring meetings of the National Association of Student Personnel Adminstrators and the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors. The rights document does not mention student power and was described by Schwartz as "a list of minimal demands." However, it would insure freedom from censorship of student newspapers, permit students to bring any speaker on campus, and would democratize disciplinary hearings. Also, the statement provides:

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"The student body should have clearly defined means to participate in the formulation and application of institutional policy affecting academic and student affairs." It leaves the details to be worked out on each campus.

For a number of the delegates, the crusade for student power centered almost solely on the question of unlocking women's dormitories. When chided by their more serious colleagues, these students insisted that girls' hours was the one issue that could attract widespread support on their campuses. The activity thus aroused could later be channeled into other causes.

"I don't agree with that," said Mary Quinn, a student at Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh. "If you start that way, you keep playing their mediocre little game forever."

Miss Quinn was worried by the emphasis some of the delegates placed on tactics. She drew loud applause at the closing session when she announced, "I'm scared. Too many people here want to talk about tactics without knowing where they're going."

President Schwartz also tried repeatedly to keep the conversation directed toward goals. "If a debate on tactics becomes the central ideological debate, then any chance of viewing the problems of achieving student power in a hardheaded manner will be lost." Schwartz warned against those who "would wish the movement to become merely a test of tactics for their own sake." Early in the conference he took a stand against harassing campaign recruiters. Students have fought too long for free speech on campus, he said, to want to bar it now to some groups.

The three-day conference failed to live up to its advance billing—probably too ambitious—as a "place to plan concerted, nationally coordinated action." However, it did send delegates back to their home campuses better able to articulate demands.

Some solid planning was accomplished for an alliance between Illinois colleges and universities. This group will provide financial support—bail and legal-aid funds—for students in conflict with authorities. The students hope to organize sympathy strikes on their campuses to aid confrontations in another part of the state. They plan to transport busloads of students to campuses when a battle occurs. Students from the New York City area discussed strategies for future action similar to the support from other city campuses that went this fall to striking students at Brooklyn College and to protestors at Long Island University.

Schwartz urged the delegates to carry their battles with administrators into the courts. The NSA has compiled a list of recent precedent cases in which courts have reinstated students expelled from public universities, and have ruled against college authorities on other issues. He promised that NSA will soon publish a list of student rights—such as freedom of expression and freedom from double punishment by civil and university authorities—that can be readily defended in today's courts.

Schwartz said the NSA is planning a nation-wide legal-aid network to supply attorneys and advice to students who battle with college administrators.

"Test your rights in the courts; the climate is receptive," he told his fellow activists.

December 2 *(Continued from page 645)*

mostly old and famous. Scientific administrators, corporation presidents (Greenwalt of Du Pont), Nobel Prize winners Libby, Segre, Wigner and Seaborg. The last, tall, dark, as infolded as a de Mille Inquisitor, called Fermi's work "the greatest scientific achievement of the century," and pleasure in this assessment, perhaps, enabled the men to bury old hatchets with such as General Groves, who sat with them, elegant, jowly and gray. All appeared appreciative that not a building or endowment but a single work of art commemorated the famous deed.

The small, gray-haired sculptor sat with Mrs. Fermi in front. His sculpture, "Nuclear Energy," was a huge, eyeless form—head, vegetable or nuclear cloud—whose interior force had ruptured its center into strong, intricate cavities. The massive coppery cranium shone in the odd, windy light of late afternoon, hulked over the crowd, the tennis courts, the ripped earth and the striped tent.

On an early sketch, Moore wrote, "the great . . . problem [for me] is to combine sculptured form with human energy." The Italian Henry might have concurred. One thought of many parallels between them. Both worked with the stuff of earth, both worked against its recalcitrance, both worked with assistants but largely on their own. The scientists kept coming back to the simplicity and efficiency of Fermi's work. Walter Zinn said that the Chicago project "was finished with unprecedented speed though it lacked the computers, elaborate organization and scientific managerial techniques now considered indispensable for such undertakings. . . . Enrico Fermi overbalanced all of these." Herbert Anderson recalled that in July, 1939, the nuclear scientists needed $6,000 worth of graphite. No university physics department could consider so enormous a request. Szilard, just come from England, had the notion of getting it from the U.S. Treasury. Unheard of, but thanks to Einstein's famous alert to FDR, it was done.

Such recollections were bucolic, the artful inventors speaking directly to authority in what Senator McCarthy that night called (in another connection) "the language of promise and of hope." Since then, almost everything had changed. Chicago Pile-One had led not only to mass murder but contributed to the new breed of policy makers, the urbane theoreticians who like General Pruhl in Tolstoi, "so love their theory that they lose sight of the object of the theory . . . immutably conceited men, ready to face martyrdom for their own ideas."

At the Conrad Hilton that night, the handsome, hesitant Senator from Minnesota quoted Péguy and Toynbee:" "A single legal crime, a single dishonorable act will bring about the loss of one's honor, the dishonor of a whole people," this from the Catholic poet: "The nemesis of war is intrinsic. It did not need the invention of the atomic weapon to make this apparent," from the historian.

Reading words of such purity, a spectator of the nuclear commemoration wondered why the pursuit of power sounded so much further removed from ordinary human standards than the simpler pursuits of artists and scientists whose work, durable, usable, beautiful and memorable, came shining, as it were, right out of impurity and recalcitrance. RICHARD STERN

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Notes for an Essay on Rodin

JOHN BERGER
Mr. Berger writes regularly on art for New Society *(London). His most recent published work is* A Fortunate Man *(Holt, Rinehart and Winston).*

"People say I think too much about women," said Rodin to William Rothenstein. *Pause.* "Yet after all, what is there more important to think about?"

• • •

The fiftieth anniversary of his death. Tens of thousands of plates of Rodin sculptures have been specially printed this year for anniversary books and magazine features. The anniversary cult is a means of painlessly and superficially informing a "cultural elite" which for consumer-market reasons needs to be constantly enlarged. It is a way of *consuming*—as distinct from understanding—history.

• • •

Of the artists of the second half of the 19th century who are today treated as masters, Rodin is the only one who was internationally honored and officially considered illustrious during his working life. He was a traditionalist. "The idea of progress," he said, "is society's worst form of cant." From a modest *petit bourgeois* Parisian family, he became a *master* artist. At the height of his career he employed ten other sculptors to carve the marbles for which he was famous. From 1900 onward his declared annual income was in the region of 200,000 francs: in reality it was probably considerably higher.

• • •

A visit to the Hôtel de Biron, the Rodin Museum in Paris, where versions of most of his works are to be seen, is a strange experience. The house is *peopled* by hundreds of figures: it is like a Home or a Workhouse of statues. If you approach a figure and, as it were, question it with your eyes, you may discover much of incidental interest (the detail of a hand, a mouth, the idea implied by the title, etc.). But, with the exception of the studies for the Balzac monument and of the "Walking Man" which was a kind of prophetic study for the Balzac made twenty years earlier, there is not a single figure which stands out and claims its own, according to the first principle of free-standing sculpture: that is to say not a single figure which dominates the space around it.

All are prisoners within their contours. The effect is cumulative. You become aware of the terrible compression under which these figures exist. An invisible pressure inhibits and reduces every possible thrust outward into some small surface event for the fingertips. "Sculpture," Rodin claimed, "is quite simply the art of depression and protuberance. There is no getting away from that." Certainly there is no getting away from it in the Hôtel de Biron. It is as though the figures were being forced back into their material: if the same pressure were further increased the three-dimensional sculptures would become bas-reliefs: if increased yet further the bas-reliefs would become imprints on a wall. The "Gates of Hell" are a vast and enormously complex demonstration and expression of this pressure. "Hell" is the force which presses these figures back into the door. "The Thinker," who overlooks the scene, is clenched against all outgoing contact: he shrinks from the very air that touches him.

• • •

During his lifetime Rodin was attacked by Philistine critics for "mutilating" his figures—hacking off arms, decapitating torsos, etc. The attacks were stupid and misdirected, but they were not entirely without foundation. Most of Rodin's figures have been reduced to less than they should be as independent sculptures: they have suffered oppression.

It is the same in his famous nude drawings in which he drew the woman's or dancer's outline without taking his eyes off the model, and afterward filled it in with a water-color wash. These drawings, though often striking, are like nothing so much as pressed leaves or flowers.

• • •

This failure of his figures (always with the exception of the "Balzac") to create any spatial tension with their surroundings passed unnoticed by his contemporaries because they were preoccupied with their literary interpretations, which were sharpened by the obvious sexual significance of many of the sculptures. Later it was ignored because the revival of interest in Rodin (which began about fifteen to twenty years ago) concentrated upon the mastery of "his touch" upon the sculptural surface. He was categorized as a sculptural "Impressionist." Nevertheless, it is this failure, the existence of this terrible pressure upon Rodin's figures, which supplies the clue to their real (if negative) content.

• • •

The figure of the emaciated old woman, "She Who Was Once the Helmet-Maker's Beautiful Wife," with her flattened breasts and her skin pressed against the bone, represents a paradigmatic choice of subject. Perhaps Rodin was dimly aware of his predisposition.

• • •

Often the action of a group or a figure is overtly concerned with some force of compression. Couples clasp each other (*vide* "The Kiss" where everything is limp except his hand and her arm both pulling inward). Other couples fall on each other. Figures embrace the earth, swoon to the ground. A fallen caryatid still bears the stone that weighs her down. Women crouch as though pressed, hiding, into a corner.

In many of the marble carvings figures and heads are meant to look as if they have only half emerged from the uncut block of stone: but in fact they look as though they are being compressed into and are merging with the block. If the implied process were to continue, they would not emerge independent and liberated: they would disappear.

Even when the action of the figure apparently belies the pressure being exerted upon it—as with certain of the smaller bronzes of dancers—one feels that the figure is still the malleable creature, unemancipated, of the sculptor's molding hand. This hand fascinated Rodin. He depicted it holding an incomplete figure and a piece of earth and called it "The Hand of God."

• • •

Rodin explains himself: "No good sculptor can model a human figure without dwelling on the mystery of life: this individual and that in fleeting variations only reminds him of the immanent type; he is led perpetually from the creature to the creator. . . . That is why many of my figures have a hand, a foot, still imprisoned in the marble block; life is everywhere, but rarely indeed does it come to complete expres-

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sion or the individual to perfect freedom."

Yet if the compression which his figures suffer is to be explained as the expression of some kind of pantheistic fusion with nature, why is its effect so disastrous in sculptural terms?

Rodin was extraordinarily gifted and skilled as a sculptor. Given that his work exhibits a consistent and fundamental weakness, we must examine the structure of his personality rather than that of his opinions.

• • •

Rodin's insatiable sexual appetite was well known during his lifetime, although since his death certain aspects of his life and work (including many hundreds of drawings) have been kept secret. All writers on Rodin's sculpture have noticed its sensuous [*sic*] or sexual character: but many of them treat this sexuality only as an ingredient. It seems to me that it was the prime motivation of his art—and not merely in the Freudian sense of a sublimation.

• • •

Isadora Duncan in her autobiography describes how Rodin tried to seduce her. Finally—and to her later regret—she resisted.

"Rodin was short, square, powerful, with close-cropped head and plentiful beard. . . . Sometimes he murmured the names of his statues, but one felt that names meant little to him. He ran his hands over them and caressed them. I remember thinking that beneath his hands the marble seemed to flow like molten lead. Finally he took a small quantity of clay and pressed it between his palms. He breathed hard as he did so. . . . In a few moments he had formed a woman's breast. . . . Then I stopped to explain to him my theories for a new dance, but soon I realised that he was not listening. He gazed at me with lowered lids, his eyes blazing, and then, with the same expression that he had before his works, he came towards me. He ran his hands over my neck, breast, stroked my arms and ran his hands over my hips, my bare legs and feet. He began to knead my whole body as if it were clay, while from him emanated heat that scorched and melted me. My whole desire was to yield to him my entire being. . . ."

Rodin's success with women appears to have begun when he first began to become successful as a sculptor (age about 40). It was then that his whole bearing — and his fame — offered a promise that Isadora Duncan describes so well because she describes it obliquely. His promise to women is that he will mold them: they will become clay in his hands: their relation to him will become symbolically comparable to that of his sculptures.

• • •

"When Pygmalion returned home" (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book X), "he made straight for the statue of the girl he loved, leaned over the couch, and kissed her. She seemed warm: he laid his lips on hers again, and touched her breast with his hands—at his touch the ivory lost its hardness, and grew soft: his fingers made an imprint on the yielding surface, just as wax of Hymettus melts in the sun and, worked by men's fingers, is fashioned into many different shapes, and made fit for use by being used."

What we may term the Pygmalion promise is perhaps a general element in male attraction for many women. When a specific and actual reference to a sculptor and his clay is at hand, its effect simply becomes more intense because it is more consciously recognizable.

What is remarkable in Rodin's case is that he himself appears to have found the Pygmalion promise attractive. I doubt whether his playing with the clay in front of Isadora Duncan was simply a ploy for her seduction: the ambivalence between clay and flesh also appealed to him. This is how he described the Venus de' Medici: "Is it not marvellous? Confess that you did not expect to discover so much detail. Just look at numberless undulations of the hollow which unites the body and the thigh. . . . Notice all the voluptuous curvings of the hip. . . . And now, here, the adorable dimples along the loins. . . . It is truly flesh. . . . You would think it moulded by caresses! You almost expect, when you touch this body, to find it warm."

• • •

If I am right, this amounts to a kind of inversion of the original myth and of the sexual archetype suggested by it. The original Pygmalion creates a statue with whom he falls in love. He prays that she may become alive so that she may be released from the ivory in which he has carved her, so that she may become independent, so that he can meet her *as an equal rather than as her creator*. Rodin, on the contrary, wants to perpetuate an ambivalence between the living and the created. What he is to women, he feels he must be to his sculptures. What he is to his sculptures, he wants to be to women.

Judith Cladel, his devoted biographer, describes Rodin working and making notes from the model.

"He leaned closer to the recumbent figure, and fearing lest the sound of his voice might disturb its loveliness, he whispered: 'Hold your mouth as though you were playing the flute. Again, Again!'

"Then he wrote: 'The mouth, the luxurious protruding lips sensuously eloquent. . . . Here the perfumed breath comes and goes like bees darting in and out of the hive. . . .'

"How happy he was during these hours of deep serenity, when he could enjoy the untroubled play of his faculties! A supreme ecstasy, for it had no end:

" 'What a joy is my ceaseless study of the human flower!'

" 'How fortunate that in my profession I am able to love and also to speak of my love!' "

• • •

We can now begin to understand why his figures are unable to claim or dominate the space around them. They are physically compressed, imprisoned, forced back by the force of Rodin as dominator. Objectively speaking, these works are expressions of his own freedom and imagination. But because clay and flesh are so ambivalently and fatally related in his mind, he is forced to treat them as though they were a challenge to his own authority and potency.

This is why he never worked in marble but only in clay and left it to his employees to carve in the more intractable medium. This is the only apt interpretation of his remark: "The first thing God thought of when he created the world was modelling." This is the most logical explanation of why he found it necessary to keep in his studio at Meudon a kind of mortuary store of modeled hands, legs, feet, heads, arms, which he liked to play with by seeing whether he could add them to newly created bodies.

• • •

Why is the "Balzac" an exception? Our previous reasoning already suggests the answer. This is a sculpture of a man of enormous power striding across the world. Rodin considered it his masterpiece. All writers on Rodin are agreed that he also identified himself with Balzac. In one of the nude studies for it the sexual meaning is quite explicit: the right hand grips the erect penis. This is a monument to male potency. Frank Harris wrote of a later clothed version and what he says might apply to the finished one: "Under the old monastic robe with its empty sleeves, the man holds himself erect, the hands firmly grasping his virility and the head thrown back." This work was such a direct confirmation of Rodin's own sexual power that for once he was able to let it dominate him. Or, to put it another way, when he was working on the "Balzac," the clay—probably

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for the only time in his life—seemed to him to be masculine.

• • •

The contradiction which flaws so much of Rodin's art and which becomes, as it were, its most profound and yet negative content, must have been in many ways a personal one. But it was also typical of a historical situation. Nothing reveals more vividly than Rodin's sculptures, if analyzed in sufficient depth, the nature of bourgeois sexual morality in the second half of the 19th century.

On the one hand the hypocrisy, the guilt, which tends to make strong sexual desire—even if it can be nominally satisfied—febrile and phantasmagoric; on the other hand the fear of women escaping (as property) and the constant need to control them.

On the one hand Rodin who thinks that women are the most important thing in the world to think about; on the other hand the same man who curtly says: "In love all that counts is the act."

The 1967 Non-Definitive List

This year, when holidaying and gift-giving seems almost an immoral act (Dick Gregory's plea to put Christmas out of business while the war continues, is impossible to ignore), books may offer an honorable way out. If the given book is one which aims to move men's minds to areas where the vision is more clear and where the action is more just, so much the better. One of the redeeming aspects of a hysterically expanding book production is that in a system where *anything* can get published, even excellent works get hauled along in the general crowd. There's junk enough around, of course. But junk has not been prevalent in these pages where the aim (and the need, given our limited space) has been to choose the books and the reviewers whose concerns are meaningful for *Nation* readers. For that reason, we feel that what has been discussed in the book pages all year is a most valuable guide to book buying, along with the *Nation* contributors' booklist which appears elsewhere in this issue.

There are also books which would be good to get and to give that we have not yet reviewed. Among these are a good sampling of the many books published in connection with the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, to be covered in our issues of January 1 and 8. Of these, Isaac Deutscher's *The Unfinished Revolution* (published by Oxford University Press) should be noted and either the Grove Press or Harper & Row editions of Mikhail Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*. Régis Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution?* will also be discussed by Eqbal Ahmad, William Appleman Williams and Geoffrey Bing in an early 1968 issue.

All this is in the way of making the unsettling comment that the booklists offered here are not definitive. Their aim is to steer a preferential path through the indiscriminate, bountiful confusion of the bookshops. (Books on our contributors' list are not repeated.)

In the field of the novel, our reviewers thought very well of the following (in the case of Styron's book there was also some strong dissent):

Edmundo Desnoes: *Inconsolable Memories*
Jean Genet: *Miracle of the Rose*
Herbert Gold: *Fathers*
Isaac Bashevis Singer: *The Manor*
Philip Roth: *When She Was Good*
Susan Sontag: *Death Kit*
Gertrude Stein: *The Making of Americans*
William Styron: *The Confessions of Nat Turner*

In a not yet published review, Christina Stead's current book of novellas, *The Puzzleheaded Girl*, will receive the same high praise as have earlier Stead books in these pages.

Though they are not newly released works, the Tolkien books, the works of Hermann Hesse, and the novels of Thomas Pyncheon were most persuasively presented by Robert Sklar as especially attractive to students. They are all available in the bookshops.

Among the newer novelists, *Nation* reviewers were most impressed with:

Chester Aaron: *About Us*
Donald Barthelme: *Snow White*
Stanley Elkin: *A Bad Man*
Janice Elliott: *The Godmother*
Morris Lurie: *Rappaport*
Carlene Hatcher Polite: *The Flagellants*
Anne Richardson: *Digging Out*

Following are a few books for children, up to all ages, with considerable special appeal. The first two titles are stories about Negro children, and the biography of Higginson is an account of the abolitionist colonel of the first all-Negro regiment recruited by federal forces. The last item, *The Road Goes Ever On*, is a natural for Tolkien fans.

ZEELY. By Virginia Hamilton. Illustrated by Symeon Shimin. The Macmillan Co. 122 pp. $3.95.

SAM. By Ann Herbert Scott. With draw-

NEW DIRECTIONS BOOKS

EZRA POUND
Pound/Joyce: Letters & Essays. $10.00

DYLAN THOMAS
The Notebooks. $8.50

DELMORE SCHWARTZ
Selected Poems. NDP 241, $1.75

TENNESSEE WILLIAMS
One Arm. Stories. NDP 237, $1.85

LAWRENCE FERLINGHETTI
Starting From San Francisco. Poetry, NDP 220, $1.00

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS
In The Money. Novel $4.95; NDP 240, $2.75

Pictures From Brueghel. Poetry. $5.00

GARCIA LORCA
Five Plays. NDP 232, $1.75

NICANOR PARRA
Poems And Antipoems. $5.50; NDP 242, $1.95.

JULES SUPERVIELLE
Selected Writings. $6.75; NDP 209, $2.75.

CARL RAKOSI
Amulet. Poems. $4.50; NDP 234, $1.50

RAJA RAO
Kanthapura. Novel. NDP 224, $1.95

JEAN COCTEAU
The Infernal Machine. Plays. NDP 235, $2.75

JOHN HAWKES
The Beetle Leg. Novel. $4.50. NDP 239, $1.50

The Innocent Party. Plays. NDP 238, $2.95

THOMAS MERTON
Selected Poems. NDP 85, $1.65

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ings by Symeon Shimin. Mc-Graw Hill Book Co. 30 pp. $3.95.

COLONEL OF THE BLACK REGIMENT: The Life of Thomas Wentworth Higginson. By Howard N. Meyer. W. W. Norton & Co. 346 pp. $5.50.

HIGGLETY PIGGLETY POP! or THERE MUST BE MORE TO LIFE. Story and pictures by Maurice Sendak. Harper & Row. 69 pp. $4.95.

THE KITCHEN MADONNA. By Rumer Godden. The Viking Press. 89 pp. $3.75.

WONDERS, WARRIORS, AND BEASTS ABOUNDING: How the Artist Sees His World. By Beryl Barr. Foreword by Thomas P. F. Hoving. 117 illustrations; 31 in color. Doubleday & Co. 128 pp. $6.95.

An original and tasteful concept of presenting art for young people through the artists' view of animals, heroes, the sun, stars, fire and night, with examples from world art through the centuries. The text discusses technique and style, and draws upon fables, legends, poetry and mythology.

THE ROAD GOES EVER ON: A Song Cycle. Music by Donald Swann. Poems by J.R.R. Tolkien. Houghton Mifflin Co. 67 pp. $3.95.

Books not reviewed but excellent for gifts:

CASTRO'S CUBA, CUBA'S FIDEL. Text and photographs by Lee Lockwood. The Macmillan Co. 288 pp. $9.95.

An American photo-journalist's report on his visit to Cuba in 1966. Lockwood's questioning but warm approach to the people of Cuba and its leader results in some surprisingly intimate photographs and in an extraordinarily candid and long interview with Fidel, which forms the major part of the book.

PORTAL TO AMERICA: The Lower East Side 1870-1925. Edited by Allen Schoener. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 256 pp. More than 150 illustrations. $12.95.

A picture of the life of immigrant Jews in New York's ghetto. It includes vivid journalistic accounts of the period, and the final section, "Bintel Brief" letters to the editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, is particularly charming.

OTHELLO: The National Theatre Production. Edited by Kenneth Tynan. Photographs by Lord Snowden, Angus McBean, Roddy McDowell and Chris Arthus. Texts by Kenneth Tynan, Alan Seymour, F. R. Leavis, W. H. Auden, and excerpts from nine theatre critics' reviews of Olivier in *Othello*. Stein and Day. 110 pp. $6.95.

GALLOWS SONG. By Christian Morgenstern. Translated by W. D. Snodgrass and Lore Segal. Illustrations by Paul Klee. University of Michigan Press. 124 pp. $7.95.

ART TREASURES OF RUSSIA. Text by M. W. Alpatov of the Academy of Fine Arts of the USSR. Translated by Norbert Guterman. 104 hand-tipped color-plate illustrations. Harry N. Abrams. 178 pp. $25.

THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE. Edited and with an introduction by Denys Hay. Texts by Nicolai Rubinstein, Cecil Grayson, Peter Murray, Roberto Weiss, Delio Cantimori, I. D. McFarlane, G. R. Potter, A. A. Parker, Joel Hurstfield, L. D. Ettlinger, John Hale. 600 illustrations, 180 in color. 420 photographs, woodcuts, drawings and maps. McGraw-Hill Book Company. 359 pp. $24.95 until May 31, 1968; $30 thereafter.

20,000 YEARS OF WORLD PAINTING: A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORICAL SURVEY FROM CAVE PAINTING TO MODERN ART. Edited and with an introduction by Hans L. C. Jaffé. Texts by P. P. Kahane, P. Francastel, G. C. Argan, Michael Levey, Hans L. C. Jaffé, H. Hetl-Kunze. Translated from the French, German and Italian by Robert Erich Wolf. Over 1,000 reproductions in full color. Harry N. Abrams. 418 pp. $25.

DRAWINGS BY DEGAS. Essay and Catalogue by Jean Sutherland Boggs. 156 illustrations. Includes a selected reading list and chronology of the life of Edgar Degas. Harry N. Abrams. 237 pp. $12.50.

AUGUSTE RODIN. Text by Jean-François Chabrun. Illustrations prepared by Robert Descharnes. The Viking Press. 277 pp. $30 until December 30; $35 thereafter.

PICASSO: SIXTY YEARS OF GRAPHIC WORKS. Introductory text by Bernhard Geiser and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. An illustrated catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art exhibition of aquatints, dry points, engravings,

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etchings, linoleum cuts, lithographs and woodcuts by the master. New York Graphic Society. $12.50.

PICASSO DRAWINGS. Text by Jean Leymarie. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. 51 drawings in color and monochrome. Skira. Distributed by The World Publishing Company. 107 pp. $7.50.

IDEALISM AND NATURALISM IN GOTHIC ART. By Max Dvórak. Translated by Randolph J. Klawiter. Preface by Karl Maria Swoboda. 9 color illustrations, 15 in black and white. University of Notre Dame Press. 252 pp. $22.50.

THE MEDIAEVAL ARTIST AT WORK. By Virginia Wylie Egbert. 53 black and white illustrations. Princeton University Press. 94 pp. $7.50.

THE LIVING THEATRE OF MEDIEVAL ART. By Henry Kraus. Foreword by Harry Bober. 135 black and white illustrations. Indiana University Press. 248 pp. $15.

OXFORD. By Felix Markham. Introduction by C. M. Bowra. 16 color illustrations, 80 in black and white. William Morrow and Co. 192 pp. $15.

THE DANCE THROUGH THE AGES. By Walter Sorell. 250 illustrations, 18 in color. Grosset & Dunlap. 304 pp. $14.95.

CITIES OF DESTINY: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF CITIES. Edited and with a preface by Arnold Toynbee. Texts by 20 contributors, including Maurice Bowra, J. R. Hale, Harold Acton, Steven Runciman, Alan Pryce-Jones, C. A. Doxiadis, Arnold Toynbee. 542 illustrations, 157 in color. 385 photographs, drawings, maps, plans and diagrams. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 376 pp. $24.95 until May 31, 1968; $30 thereafter.

JOSE LUIS SERT: ARCHITECTURE, CITY PLANNING, URBAN DESIGN. Edited by Knud Bastlund. Introduction by S. Giedion. Illustrated. Frederick A. Praeger. 244 pp. $20.

THE LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ANIMAL LIFE. Foreword by Robert Cushman Murphy. Based partly on the work of Léon Bertin. Texts prepared by Maurice Burton, J. A. L. Cooke, R. G. Davies, Benjamin Dawes, J. W. Jones and C. M. Yonge. 100 photographs in color, 900 in black and white. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 640 pp. $22.50.

THE COMPLETE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ANTIQUES. Compiled by *The Connoisseur* and edited by L. G. G. Ramsey. Illustrated with more than 500 monochrome plates. Includes a full glossary of terms accompanying each section. Hawthorn Books. 1472 pp. $14.95 until Christmas; $17.50 thereafter.

HELEN YGLESIAS

Books by Nation Contributors

We list below books published in 1967 by writers who contributed to The Nation *during the past year. This compilation—a regular year-end feature—includes books published in England, showing equivalent prices in dollars, available on special order from most booksellers.*

CARL AMERY. *Capitulation.* Herder & Herder. $5.50.

ERIC BENTLEY. *The Theatre of Commitment.* Atheneum. $5.

The Brecht-Eisler Song Book (editor with Earl Robinson). Oak. $10.

The Playwright as Thinker (reprint). Harvest. $2.45 paper.

The Life of the Drama (reprint). Atheneum. $2.95 paper.

JOHN BERGER. *A Fortunate Man.* Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $5.95.

HAROLD J. BERMAN (with Peter B. Maggs). *Disarmament: Inspection under Soviet Law.* Oceana. $7.50.

WENDELL BERRY. *A Place on Earth.* Harcourt, Brace & World. $7.50.

GEOFFREY BING. *Reap the Whirlwind.* MacGibbon & Kee (London). $7.

PAUL BLACKBURN. *The Cities.* Grove. $2.95.

Did the U.S. Government help kill freedom in Greece?

The American State Department and the CIA played a crucial part in crushing democracy in Greece, says the author of this startling behind-the-scenes report. It tells, for the first time, the complete story of the coup and reveals the U.S. role as silent partner of the ruling junta. "A wealth of exciting material... an important book!"—Kirkus' Service

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End of the Game (by Julio Cortázar), translator. Pantheon. $5.95.

Poem of the Cid, translator. American R.D.M. Corp. $1.95.

ROBERT BLY. *The Light Around the Body*. Harper & Row. $3.95.

Forty Poems of J. R. Jimenez, translator. Sixties Press. $2.

Twenty Poems of Pablo Neruda (translator with James Wright). Sixties Press. $2.

Hunger (by Knut Hamsun), translator. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. $4.95.

KAY BOYLE, editor. *The Autobiography of Emanuel Carnevali*. Horizon. $5.95.

LENNART BRUCE. *Making the Rounds.* Kayak Press. $1.50.

VERN L. BULLOUGH. *The Development of Medicine as a Profession*. Hafner. $6.

KENNETH BURKE. *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*. University of California Press. $10.

Collected Poems: 1915-1967. University of California Press. $6.50.

The Philosophy of Literary Form (second edition). Louisiana State University Press. $7.95.

HAYDEN CARRUTH. *Contra Mortem*. Crow's Mark Press. $2.50 paper.

RICHARD CARTER. *The Doctor Business* (reprint). Pocket Books. 75c paper.

Breakthrough: The Saga of Jonas Salk (reprint). Pocket Books. 95c paper.

FRED J. COOK. *The Plot Against the Patient*. Prentice-Hall. $5.95.

DAVID CORT. *The Glossy Rats*. Grosset & Dunlap. $5.

RICHARD HAUER COSTA. *H. G. Wells*. Twayne. $3.95.

RICHARD EBERHART. *Thirty One Sonnets*. Eakins Press. $4.95. (Signed, numbered, boxed edition $15.)

FREDERIC EWEN. *Bertolt Brecht: his life, his art and his times*. Citadel. $10.

C. P. FITZGERALD. *The Chinese View of Their Place in the World* (reprint). Oxford (England). $1 paper.

MICHAEL BREWSTER FOLSOM (with Mary Elting). *The Mysterious Grain: Science In Search of the Origin of Corn*. M. Evans. $4.50.

WALLACE FOWLIE. *Climate of Violence: The French Literary Tradition from Baudelaire to the Present*. Macmillan. $6.95.

MORTON H. FRIED. *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology*. Random. $7.95. Paper $2.95.

Readings in Anthropology (Vol. I, second edition). Crowell. $4.95 paper.

JEAN GARRIGUE. *New and Selected Poems*. Macmillan. $5.95.

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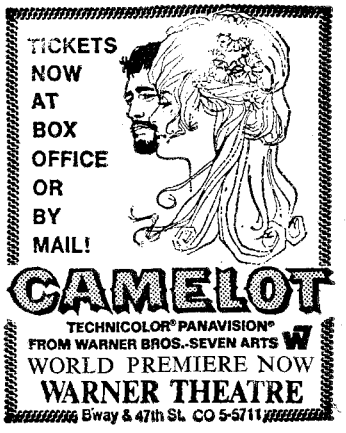
ART

MAX KOZLOFF

The current paintings of Frank Stella and Kenneth Noland, more prolix than one would have expected from such "reductive" artists, smack of the mathematical, although whether their process is multiplication or (sub)division is hard to say. Not scale, already fixed at huge dimensions, but the widely differentiated, almost innumerable layering of bands, curving or horizontal, now hornswoggles the eye. Only with difficulty can one sustain an idea of the original modules of this work, because its color codes become so wide-ranging and nonrepeating that the whole effect is irksomely analytic. The gray-threaded channels of unprimed canvas between the sharp, tape-marked contours of the units —it is erroneous to call them areas or shapes—do not isolate their optical vi-



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brations. Nor does the discrete concentrism or parallelism of the pictorial order restrain sudden imbalances of "weight," or integrate gaps in the spectrum. Parts, in more ways than one, dominate the conception of the whole, and it is just this domination that leads us to consider these two abstractionists, still intensely competing with each other, as having arrived at a mannerist phase of their art.

This commences in Stella with his elaboration of one motif, circularity, to pre-empt composition, and to enact, literally, the role of format. His earlier maneuverings of giant, shaped canvases, rectangular "torsos" pronged with rimmed triangular or polygonal "appendages," have given way to immense, dizzyingly reiterated circles, utterly frozen in their fluidity, quartered or bisected, flanked, reversed or intersected, and arranged tangentially in strange diptychs or triptychs. Just to describe them is to become verbally muscle-bound. Imagine someone drawing a circle with a 10-foot diameter, then switching the compass point 5 feet off to the side, or perhaps to the bottom, or diametrically between these positions, inscribing the corresponding arcs, cutting them off with straight edges at mid-career, and binding that area of their confluence into a "picture" projecting the regularized echoes of these actions in radiating colors. That is what Stella has done, with the addition of many quite arbitrary stoppages or overlaps of the circle paths, so that an illusionist potential is bewilderingly injected into otherwise surface-affirming patterns. The exhibition itself (Castelli Gallery), though composed of so many "frustrated" dynamics, is only a tiny sampling from a vast pictorial program upon which the artist is engaged: each title, "Abra," "Sabra," "Sinjerli," etc., has a grouping of three differently configurated versions: interlace, rainbow and fan. (The names are of ancient Indian cities with circular plans.)

It seems to me that at this moment Stella, with his new blend of curvilinear density and orchestrated pastelish day-glo color, has abruptly leaped from an indifference to the problem of style to an endorsement of stylization. Notwithstanding his consistency in planning his geometrical schemes, this planning has now inadvertently shifted meaning to a level of self-consciousness whereby the elements in the painting are perceived as ornamentation. (Something very similar happens to certain details in Wright's "futuristic" Guggenheim Museum.) Further, this relates to the arbitrariness of their effect. It could almost be said of his earlier parallel strip paintings, because they struck an incisive, inevitable balance between function and stereotype, that they were classical in spirit. His previous exhibition revealed asymmetries which wedged this balance open, yet depended upon it to yield extraordinary tension. Currently, tension is dissolved into an *idea* of tension; there is no foreordained necessity for the double functioning of his materials which now looks so intermittent and playful. Moreover, these paintings "feel" aligned, through their over-many points of excitation, with the super-enhanced, mercilessly pretty palette of the psychedelic pop scene. Stella's precedents in the history of modern art—Delaunay's "simultaneous discs," Johns's targets and device circles, and Noland's concentric circles of 1961—serve only to highlight the decorativeness that he has transferred to a theme which once had a luminous drama, an intransigent spareness, or an ironic reflex of motion. Nor do the religious connotations suggested by the polyptych shapes, or certain stained-glass effects in the "fans," unintended, I think, yet curiously contrived, integrate his precision of making with the precision of thought that once distinguished his work.

Noland's paintings (Emmerich Gallery) seem, at first sight, to have done for lateral design what Stella has effected in the area of the rotary. That is, his canvases purvey a horizontal streamlined striping, radical not only in the way it takes over whole walls but by its alternation of thick bands with clusters of thin ones, giving the whole an aura of pinpointed velocities. (Somehow, lines less than an inch in width seem to "go" faster than their broader colleagues.) In terms of Noland's development, this is a new motif, for although he had already introduced frieze-like compositions of extremely diminished height, as compared to a width which the eye simply could not accommodate in one glance, they were partitioned in equal channels of only a few fairly modulated colors. To be brought up to date on his activities is to see a much more heterogeneous idiom: one in which he defies a holistic reading of the façade by dropping out expected color transitions, or by throwing value contrasts to the upper or lower margin, or finally, by raising the verticality of the format without taking advantage of the gained space to move attention upward as well as sideways. One almost aberrational result is the curious compression of the gallery walls promoted by these tactics. The room seems much more a hall than it had ever given evidence of being, with perimeters that run into one another and collide at break-neck speed. Moreover, it becomes impossible for the spectator to take a proper sighting of the art, for any off-center position gives him an anamorphically distorted view, while the shallowness of the gallery prevents anyone centrally placed, and necessarily close up, from comprehending edges which are, for all practical purposes, arbitrarily way off to the side and even then extendable without optical inconsistency. The sense of space generated is almost as Mannerist as the "infinities" of the Uffizi corridor.

Remnants of Noland's "mainstream" color—primaries and relatively heavily saturated variations thereof—still abound. They are responsible for that acrylic brilliance, rigorously crafted, which has always elicited the epithet "handsome" in discussion of his work. But granting the general persuasiveness of this style, it is relevant to ask how convincing and memorable are the individual creations within it. Aside from the intimations of landscape in Noland's multiple horizons, he has also not been able to avoid effects similar to prism refractions, so that even if he puts blue below and red on top, as in "Graded Exposure," there are illustrational aspects to the present works. These would not be disturbing if it could be demonstrated that they were intentional. Rather, I think of them as merely unfortunate by-products of Noland's new way of arranging things. A more serious objection resides in the linear functioning of the narrow stripes in what is essentially a chromatic context. Their immediate surrounds, unprimed channels of canvas, isolate their quotients of darkness, so that they are drawn out of any decisive interchange with hue. One understands that Noland is deliberately flirting with intervals, but those here are too detachable from one another to be altogether coherent. It may have been in recognition of this that he repeats the same band of unpronounced gray-blue twelve times in "Lyre" to arrive at a greater closeness of value, but the results are still disruptive.

But, following this lead, two canvases in the show unfurl themselves as successful solutions; indeed, as masterpieces of their kind. One, "Dateline," is a large picture consisting of broad pinkish white bands separated by raw canvas channels in turn irrigated by off-center yellow pin stripes, the whole punctuated by olive and black bars at the bottom. Because the warm white, though predominant, is actually a species of negation, from a chromatic point of view, the cooler unpainted areas are proportionately more activated, and the experience becomes a very subtle, high-keyed adventure in overtones, almost musical in the way it makes you aware of the "pitch" of color (with the bold addition of the full notes beneath). In the 19-foot "Coarse Shadow" (anything but befitting its name), this procedure has gone so far as to shrink double pencil stripes of color (pink and blue, yellow and olive, etc.), again within the bare canvas runnels, between huge polar white bands, with such control that one forgets that edges seem to have invaded the center, and that such

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tiny increments of color, when every other image has been bleached from the environment, should have such pervasive influence over noncolor. I would not care to draw conclusions from Noland's success in turning his normal approach inside out. But if it testifies to the precariousness which grips an abstract sensibility in the throes of mannerism, it also symptomizes its vitality.

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

Recalling the three plays I saw during the past week I am tempted to say that I passed from the ridiculous to the sublime. On reflection, however, I have become unsure as to which is which. The plays were *Something Different* by Carl Reiner (Cort), Edward Albee's *Everything in the Garden* (Plymouth) and Michel de Ghelderode's *Pantagleize*, an APA production at the Lyceum.

Everything in the Garden is important because it is the best of Albee's adaptations and because he is a man of distinct talent. The play is in large degree the work of a now deceased English writer, Giles Cooper, whose play of the same title I saw in London five years ago. Praise or blame must be shared by both. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

The play is about a lower-middle-class suburban family, English with Cooper, American with Albee. Such a family is usually "comfortable" but perennially haunted by indigence. A foreign lady (possibly Hungarian in the original, English in the adaptation) arrives on the scene and insinuates to the wife that she can earn sizable sums by satisfying the sexual needs of proper gentlemen while her husband is at work. At first outraged by the proposal, the housewife finally succumbs. Money begins to pour in; the husband discovers its source, and is ready to kill his spouse. Then he, she and we discover that all the neighbors and friends—husbands and wives—have improved their finances by the same means, accommodating themselves to the situation with satisfaction. When a playfully good-natured, wealthy bachelor becomes aware of what is going on, it becomes entirely possible (because he is a cynical drunk) that he will blab. The husbands strangle the playboy and bury him in the garden.

This is not as farfetched as it sounds: a newspaper item some years ago exposed a parallel instance in the borough of Queens. Cooper told his bitter anecdote in dulcet tones, with a trace of a smile, and one could take it with as much gravity or levity as one desired. The play's fault was that it was virtually over by the middle of the second act. Cooper concluded with a Pirandello-like discourse (out of context) which was as useless and unseemly as a sixth finger.

Albee's treatment is much more virulent. He makes the play a parable of the prostitution of our civilization. He begins quite skillfully. His dialogue is excellent: there are some keen strokes of observation. But as the play proceeds he gets angrier and angrier: the joke has become a scream; we are repelled.

This revulsion, combined with a refusal to believe, is not due to the violence of the play's premise or to its import, which are now clichés. But the dramatic presentation of this message—even in a sardonic comedy—should not be as pat and absolute as Albee has made it. The simplicity of *Everything in the Garden* is adolescent, and when you add grimness of manner to it it becomes false, if not offensively ludricrous. There would be no problem in life if everything were all bad: the difficulty arises from the fact that the beautiful and the damned coexist within each other. Realization of this is what makes both sharp comedy and strong drama. It also makes life interesting.

To clarify my slight preachment, *Virginia Woolf* is engrossing despite its venom because its people are not one-tone types, any more than are the characters in *Bessie Smith* or *Delicate Balance*. In *Garden* there are only stereotypes. These may still serve sound purposes if arresting notes are struck through genuine wit, eloquence or special insights. But such qualities are lacking in Albee's adaptation after the first third of the play. For a bit of constructive criticism, Albee would have done well to drop the murder, which makes the play too neat a syllogism. The man who knows the community secret would then become a mocking threat in a quizzically light-handed vein.

As for the production, its leading actors Barry Nelson and Barbara Bel Geddes are good. It is true that Miss Bel Geddes has too gentle and warm a nature to engage in the business she is called upon to perform, but she always acts with such complete faith in her roles that one is obliged to yield to her spirit. With an actress of such innate enchantment it is perhaps ungracious to suggest she watch her weight.

The others give competent if routine performances, and Peter Glenville has directed according to the dramatist's specifications.

Michel de Ghelderode—even when exasperating—is one of the most original playwrights of our time; *Pantagleize*, written in 1929, may well be his masterpiece.

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Chronicles of Hell, and that might be the title for the entire body of his work. He calls *Pantagleize* "a farce to make you sad." The hell of *Pantagleize* is an abortive revolution against capitalism and imperial power. It is a mad venture touched off unwittingly by a puny and sweet nonentity (or "imbecile") named Pantagleize. This wisp of a man is whirled along to his destruction by the absurd tides of a movement of which he is wholly unaware and to which he is entirely indifferent.

Pantagleize is a funny play but as grotesque in its comedy as Ghelderode's other plays are tragic and savage. If Genet had written it he would have called *Pantagleize* a "clown play." All the characters are creatures of a macabre fantasy, but their content is meaningful. They are a disaffected *avant-garde* poet, a wildly naive African house servant full of race hate and credulity, a nihilistic gangster who naturally joins in any destructive activity, a proud, beautiful and militant Jewess with hopes for the redemption of her martyred people. All these, along with the ministers of state, the bankers, the police, the military, are presented like figures in a frieze of gargoyles.

They are typical of Ghelderode's saturnine humor. It is "medieval" and very Flemish. Think of the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch in the 15th century and James Ensor in ours: they are insanely imaginative, distorted, frequently obscene, flushed with hectic color.

Ghelderode is profoundly Catholic, with a faith that verges on heresy. It sees little more in the world than a butcher shop, smelling of decay. The world is an inferno which only faith in God and the Christian injunction to love may redeem. On a first reading of *Pantagleize* the black man and the Jewess may strike one as indications of anti-Negro and anti-Semitic sentiments. (This impression is reduced in the drastically cut APA text.) It would seem that only such inferior people (not excluding the idiotic poet) are both the fomentors and victims of revolution. But the people they blow up are no better. All of us therefore are the broilers and the broiled of hell: that is man's fate in our sinful world.

Ghelderode stands outside politics. Revolutions miss the point. They can be true only if they effect a change of heart: faith in God who is that absolute love to which man can merely aspire and which he can achieve in no more than an extremely modest degree. Thus the most conscious and articulate among the rebels of the play, an educated man who has become a waiter, speaks of his "comrades—whom I despise a little while still loving them a lot." He accepts execution because, "Filled with hatred, I am unworthy to work for the ideal revolution." But none of us may ever be absolved, for "The triumph of noble minds will never come." Beatitude is conceivable only in the beyond.

Yet Ghelderode is fiercely attached to this world in all its foulness, torment and lurid discord. He "loves it a lot." That explains the kind of playwright he is. And that too is why he has written this epic farce of *Pantagleize*. The name is as odd in French, the original language of the play, as it is in English. It is my fancy that it is made up of two French words: *pantin* which means puppet, and *glaise* which is potter's clay. This name itself is a clue to the play's style.

It was an act of courage, not to say foolhardiness, for the APA to undertake this fascinating and difficult work. They are not up to it. They provide a few visually exciting moments (a May Day parade just before a riot), and there is intelligence in the overall conception. But the acting is generally at a university-theatre level.

Ellis Rabb, who plays the title role and who with John Houseman staged *Pantagleize,* has been at times an effective character actor, as in Molière's *Scapin*. He is disastrously miscast in the present part. At best he resembles a director demonstrating how the part should be played. He looks and sounds like a sensitive college instructor, not the tiny kinetic clown whose range must be that of a Charlie Chaplin. Rabb hasn't the ebullient imagination, the Puckish freedom and the physical versatility the part demands. And as he fails, so do the others who to a greater or lesser degree remain unfunny and unstirring. Only a supreme actor, a splendidly flexible company and a great director could realize the magically horrendous and Rabelaisian theatricality of this play.

As a serious man I should have nothing good to say about Carl Reiner's *Something Different,* but it made me laugh. For this play about a man who can't write a play by a man lamentably determined to write one on that subject reflects a recognizable segment of our urban society.

It is a mixture of the fun and games of a Jewish delicatessen restaurant, old-burlesque high jinks and a vulgar street gang, all of whose members have seen "plays of the absurd" in the wackiest of Greenwich Village cafés.

The cast includes Bob Dishy, who was very funny as the German scientist in Ustinov's *The Unknown Soldier and His Wife*; Gabriel Dell, a broadly gifted actor who has not yet come into his own; Linda Lavin, excellent in the opening performances of the *Mad Show*; the ever expert and commanding Claudia McNeil, all of whom throw themselves pell-mell into the not so kosher stew of *Something Different.*

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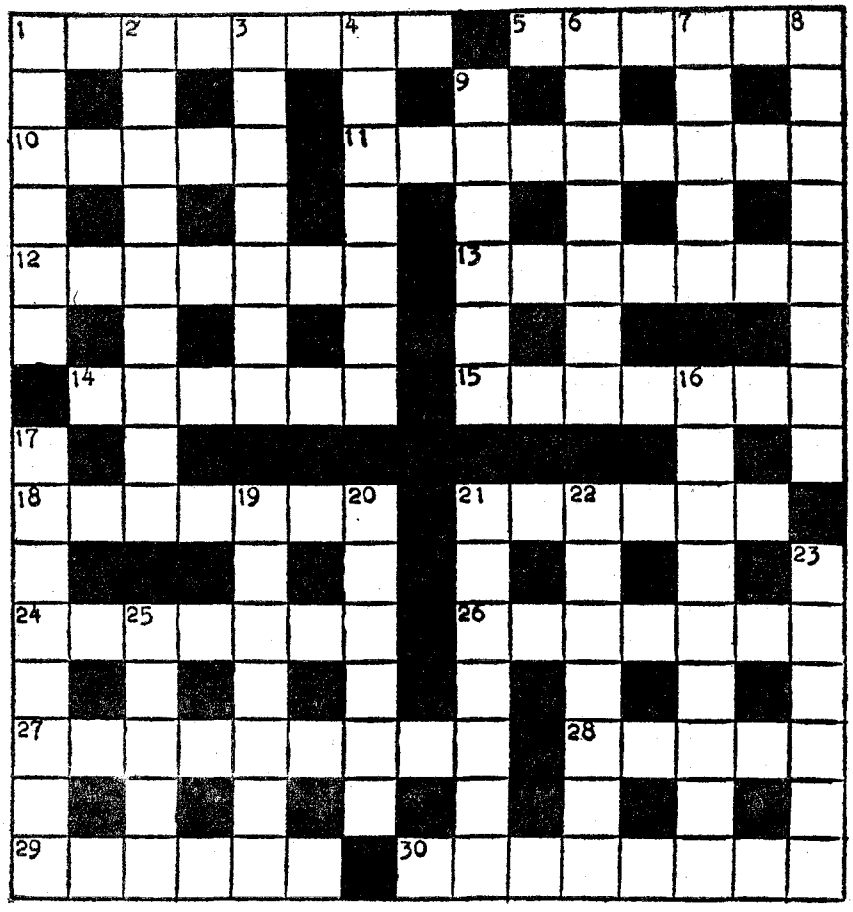
Crossword Puzzle No. 1228

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Spoonerism for less titled woman of fortune expected to come out of the office. (4,4)
5 Stephen was, but not in the way the jargon of some groups dictates. (6)
10 Gives a broad smile in support, obviously. (5)
11 See 2 down.
12 Information not for the higher-ups? (3-4)
13 Leave, perhaps. (7)
14 A boring drink, to say the least. (6)
15 Tyranny at last becomes one, according to Dostoyevsky. (7)
18 Made to cause a sour description? (7)
21 Not the main office of water requested in some drinks. (6)
24 One of the armed forces responsible for the "Spell of the Yukon"? (7)
26 Nothing leaves the fuel for part of the fuel system. (3,4)
27 Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth, according to Shelley. (9)
29 Would you find hers O.K., or just ritually permitted? (6)
30 Occupied the chair. (8)

DOWN:

1 Ringing the changes on a bell's likely to identify things. (6)
2, 11 and 28 across Originally indicating a change of film locale, and not necessarily descriptive of presidential mood at specific times. (9,4,2,3,5)
3 Pillage. (7)
4 Not exactly a taxi I catch, one advises. (6)
6 Successful communications set up when they're good to medium? (7)
7 Uncanny, or just out? (3,2)
8 Channels occasionally have to be, but it's one point in which some people go off. (8)
9 Climbed like a fish! (6)
16 There might be a lot sold this way. (9)
17 There might be some interest displayed in the account carried within its pages. (4,4)
19 Source of oil is about in the mineral. (7)
20 Ernest, the author, sounds uncompromising. (6)
21 An insect on a much larger animal could be a needless threat. (7)
22 Takes in things with the eyes of a seafaring man? (7)
23 Associated with Stanislavsky, actors do them badly. (6)
25 Winds and rocks? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1227

ACROSS: 1 Fire drills; 6 Proa; 10 Alarmed; 11 and 14 Heart-to-heart talk; 12 Cabs; 13 Convenient; 15 Sadness; 16 Electro; 17 Catered; 20 Arouses; 22 Treatments; 23 Iron; 25 Kettles; 26 and 3 Stop on a dime; 27 Yank; 28 Grand Banks. DOWN: 1 Francis Scott Key; 2 Roadbed; 4 Indoors; 5 Le Havre; 7 Retreat; 8 A month of Sundays; 9 Maintenon; 18 Trenton; 19 Dreiser; 20 Artisan; 21 Sirloin; 24 Comb.

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